DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 336 802 CS 507 596

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (74th, Boston, Massachusetts, August 7-10, 1991). Part XVII: Miscellaneous Studies, Section B.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	Aug 91
NOTE	528p.; For other sections of these proceedings, see CS 507 580-595.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF02/PC22 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Citizenship Education; Communication Research; *Ethics; *Feminism; Higher Education; Journalism Education; Media Research; Models; News Media; Pornography; Racial Bias; *Reading Habits; Research Design; Student Publications; Writing Difficulties
IDENTIFIERS	Journalism Research; Newspaper in Education Program; News Topics; Popular Music; Visual Thinking

ABSTRACT

Section B of the Miscellaneous Studies section of the proceedings contains the following 16 papers: "Ethics--Is It on the Media's Agenda: A Content Analysis of Three Trade Magazines" (Steven R. Snyder and Roxanne Buchanan); "Blacks, Whites and Read All Over: Ending Slurs on Newspaper Use by Race" (Gerald Stone); "Ethics in Journalism: A Lens Model Analysis of Student Judgments" (Karen J. Christy); "From the Cradle to the Grave: The Unfulfilled Bill of Rights Reflected in the Hidden Dialogue of 'Everywoman'" (Beverly G. Merrick); "The Writing Problems of Visual Thinkers" (Gerald Grow); "American Communication Researchers Respond to Raymond Williams" (Bonnie Brennan); "The Shared Goals of Social Studies and Scholastic Journalism: Enhancing the Environment and Effectiveness of Citizenship Education" (Thomas Eveslage); "Regulating High School Publications after 'Hazelwood': An Inclusive Model" (Kathy Brittain McKee); "The World at Home: Geographic Proximity as a Factor in Reading Interest" (Robert L. Stevenson and Dulcie M. Straughan); "Exploring New Directions for Journalism Education: The Program at Ithaca College" (John L. Hochheimer); "Fad Stories: A Study of the Life Cycle of Trendy Newspaper Topics" (Valarie A. Basheda); "The Ideology of Pornography: Portrayals of Female Sexuality in Pornographic Novels" (Robert Jensen); "A Field Study of Newspaper in Education's Impact in Cultivating Future Newspaper Readers" (Gerald C. Stone and Elinor Kelly Grusin); "Casuistry: A Moral Paradigm for Journalists" (David Boeyink); "Exposure Effects and Affective Responses to Music" (James E. Brentar and Kimberly A. Neuendorf); and "Framing the News: A Methodological Framework for Research Designs" (David R. Thompson). (SR)

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ED336802

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1991 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
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MASS COMMUNICATION (74th, Boston, MA, August 7-10, 1991).
Part XVII: Miscellaneous Studies, Section B.

CS507596

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ETHICS — IS IT ON THE MEDIA'S AGENDA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THREE MEDIA TRADE MAGAZINES

STEVEN R. SNYDER
ROXANNE BUCHANAN

SCHOOL OF MASS COMMUNICATIONS
TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY
MAIL STOP 3082
LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79409
(806) 742-3385
(806) 796-2912

SUBMITTED TO THE DIVISION OF
MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND SOCIETY
AEJMC
JULY 1,1991

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ABSTRACT

ETHICS — IS IT ON THE MEDIA'S AGENDA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THREE MEDIA TRADE MAGAZINES

Current literature suggests that over the past decade, there has been an increased concern regarding ethics among mass media professionals, specifically among those involved in visual images; broadcasters and news photographers. This concern has arisen as a result of various ethically questionable actions on the part of some professionals in the field and as a result of technological advances, namely in the areas of still video and digital photography.

This study attempted to determine the relative importance of ethics by conducting a content analysis of three leading trade publications; Broadcasting, Communicator and News Photographer, within the framework of agenda setting theory.

Results suggest that while current literature indeed suggests that ethical concerns are of importance to mass media professionals, the professional trade literature does not appear to support such an importance on the mass media professionals' agenda.

ETHICS — IS IT ON THE MEDIA'S AGENDA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THREE MEDIA TRADE MAGAZINES

From Plato, Aristotle and Helvetetius to John S. Mill, John Locke and Immanuel Kant, man has attempted to determine the importance of ethics in the framework of his existence. This pursuit has evolved to include the importance of ethics and ethical conduct in virtually all professional occupations. Many "traditional" occupations such as medicine, law and accounting have clearly defined codes of ethical guidelines and behavior. Ethics is a paramount consideration to these professionals in the pursuit of their occupations. Professionals in less "traditional" occupations such as mass media, specifically moving and still-image photography, are only beginning to realize the importance of clearly defined codes of ethics. In addition, there is disagreement among professionals as to the importance of ethics in mass media and thus in the pursuit of their occupations.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of the current literature shows that there is a growing concern about ethical issues and behaviors in mass media by professionals and academicians. Ethics is a growing part of continuing education for instructors and working media professionals; graduate and undergraduate courses alike have placed an enhanced emphasis on ethics courses (Christians, 1985).

Professionals, academicians and students alike need a rich conceptual understanding of the nature of ethics. What does it mean to say that a person's privacy should be respected? What does a principal of respect entail? Does it extend equally across all areas of personal life? Do persons have natural or civil rights? "Under what kinds of circumstances, if any, can the right be overridden and for what reasons? Is the moral value present in respect for privacy because of its utilitarian benefit, or to something inherent in the very concept, or both?" (Meyers, 1990 p. 27).

There is a respected and widely accepted position on moral education (Craig, 1989), that its essential component is training the mind to reason logically on moral issues — that moral development is movement toward more sophisticated reasoning based on intellectual understanding and acceptance of higher values and forms of valuing.

Recently, ethical lapses in universities have been reported in the media (Magner, 1989). These ethical dilemmas do not occur in a vacuum as many would seem to think. They are always imbedded in a context, a context which invariably includes societal, cultural, professional, and organizational factors (Meyers, 1990). "While faculty may have been reluctant in the past to communicate ethical beliefs, some academicians are urging that universities educate students in ethics basic to their society. Ethics may be introduced in order that graduates might behave better in their professional lives" (Martin & Stout, 1989, p. 34).

Universities, however, are not the only place that ethical lapses have been reported. Much concern has arisen as a result of the overall increased awareness of ethical considerations from the perceived breakdowns of ethical behavior in American corporations. These breakdowns have been evidenced by incidents such as those involving the cancer-causing Dalkon Shield intrauterine device, the Union Carbide industrial accident in Bhopal, in which thousands died, and the Exxon Valdez oil spill which has done irreparable damage to the ecology and the environment (Pratt & McLaughlin, 1988; Pratt, 1990). Is this behavior ethical or socially responsible?

Others have raised the ethical red flag on media ethics as a result of events such as the telecasting of the Budd R. Dwyer suicide by WPXI in Pittsburgh (Mativko, 1988) the exposure of publisher H. Garrison Cochran's trial (and subsequent acquittal) for triple-murder as a mentally unstable youth by the *Westword*.

Other examples of ethically questionable dilemmas are the publication of a photo of a drowned child's body on the front page of the *Bakersfield Californian*, and a photograph of a young student shot to death at the University de Montreal which ran on the front page of the *Montreal Gazette* and countless other incidents of a similar nature (Fink, 1988; News Photographer, 1990). Concerns regarding the limits as to what is and what is not acceptable or ethical for publication or broadcast in such graphic and personal instances have been examined, yet no definite consensus has been reached.

Another factor which has increased the concern regarding ethics in mass media have been advances in technology, specifically advancements in the areas of still video and digital photography. While these few technologies provide the photojournalist with the ability to capture images faster and more efficiently that ever before, they also provide the opportunity to actually alter perceptions of reality unlike anything else before. Foss and Kahn (1989) state that photographs of the 'digital era' that "exist only in a floppy disc are extremely malleable, subject to imperceptible manipulations . . . since there is no image degradation on successive generations each enhanced version becomes its own version of reality" (p. 13).

Norman Sanders, adjunct professor at New York's Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art commented, "These machines (digital imagers or enhancers) work with such finesse that you will insist a photograph is telling the truth" (Chithelen, 1987). This capability has raised concerns among professional photojournalists as to the virtually unlimited possibilities with such manipulations and the ensuing ethical implications.

For example, similar elements from many different photos can be recombined to make a picture that has never before existed. Through computer manipulation of digitized images, there is "absolutely no way to see where it (the image) has been altered, even if you use a magnifying glass...absolutely no way" (Reaves, 1989, p. 6). In addition, these technologies also raise ethical concerns for publishers, editors and even broadcasters.

The issue of ethics has become such an important issue in academe that the Speech Communication Association devoted its entire 1986 convention to the theme of ethics (Cooper, 1986). The Gannett, Poynter and Markle Foundations, and the American Society of Newspaper Editors are funding research and teaching in ethics. Big business is also contributing to this endeavor. Ameritech recently awarded Shiela Reaves, a teacher and researcher at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a $43,000 grant which will be used to study the ethics of digital retouching (News Photographer, 1990).

There also a concern among professionals about the negative effects of media ethics. Black and Barney (1985) argue that codified media ethics are "dysfunctional" within the First Amendment precept of "journalists and other media practitioners as social catalysts in identifying topics and expediting the negotiations societies need in order to remain dynamic."

"Kipins (1987) states that 'Ethics, as a useful human activity, is born when we respond to conflict and consternation by trying to develop procedures and standards for assessing ethical judgements and their justifications' (p. 27). Those purposes that each professional should share in common with others are termed 'core professional values' (Kipins, 1897, p. 28). These core professional values form the basis for the code of ethics for a given profession and need to be communicated" (Listion & Zeichner, 198 ; Taper, 1989; cited in Martin & Stout, 1989, p. 34).

For photographers, the most notable code of ethics is set forth by the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA). For news directors in the broadcast industry the code is set forth by the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA). The NPPA code states, in part:

- It is the individual responsibility of every photojournalist at all times to strive for pictures that report truthfully, honestly and objectively.

- No Code of Ethics can prejudge every situation, thus common sense and good judgment are required in applying ethical principles.

On November 12, 1990 the NPPA also affirmed their Statement of Principle which reads in part:

> As photojournalists, we have the responsibility to document society and to preserve its images as a matter of historical record. It is clear that the emerging electronic technologies provide new challenges to the integrity of photographic images. This technology enables the manipulation of the content of an image in such a way that the change is virtually undetectable. In light of this, we, the National Press Photographers Association, reaffirm the basis of our ethics: Accurate representation is the benchmark of our profession. Altering the editorial content of a photograph, in any degree, is a breach of the ethical standards recognized by the NPPA.

This code, as provided by the NPPA, is helpful in judging some ethical dilemmas in a very broad generalizable way, however, it doesn't come close to addressing specific everyday situations that journalists and photographers face. As stated by the NPPA, no code can prejudge every situation, common sense and good judgement are required.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

A review of the academic literature shows that a large percentage of the research being done in the area of ethics and ethical behavior is concerned primarily with digital technology and the teaching effectiveness of ethics to students and professionals who are, or will soon be, working in the field.

The literature review has shown that there is a considerable amount of concern and research being done in the area of ethics. From the agenda-setting theory we can conclude that since the issue of ethics is on the agenda for researchers and professionals, it is also on the agenda of the media. Based on this assumption it is possible to make certain predictions and hypotheses regarding the media and its relationship with researchers, . professionals and the public.

Shaw and McCombs (1977) presumed that the relationship for the agenda-setting theory was: ". . . the press itself has some power to establish an agenda of [*ethical*] issues which both the [*researchers/professionals*] and the [*public*] come to regard as important."

This definition suggests that the media's role in society is that of an instigator which tells the public not what to think, but what to think about. "The intention (of this definition) is not to portray those who rule the media as making calculated decisions to manipulate the public. The hierarchies of emphasis and importance attached to political topics and issues by the press is seen as an inevitable part of the daily processing and presenting of the news . . ." (Lowery & DeFleur, 1988 p. 339).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

There are three basic research questions that this research will attempt to answer. They are as follows:

R_1: Do media trade magazines cover the issue of ethics sufficiently?

R_2: When these publications do have articles discussing the issue of ethics, what topic or field of ethics is addressed?

R_3: When these publications do have articles discussing the issue of ethics, whom are they geared toward?

In order to answer these research questions some hypotheses have been developed. In the first hypothesis we will try to determine if the issue of ethics is being covered sufficiently. The word "sufficient" is an extremely pliant adjective, therefore it will be specifically defined.

Academic research is constantly addressing the issues of ethics. As a result, the researchers want to determine if trade publications are offering enough of this information. The researchers conclude that ethics are far from one of the leading topics presented in media trade magazines; however, ethics will represent more than a minuscule of the agenda. As a result, it is necessary to assign a specific numerical value or percentage to be the cut-off-point for "sufficient" and "minuscule".

The researchers assume that the leading topics for trade magazines will represent 10 to 12 percent of the content. Topics that are defined as having minuscule representation are assumed to appear in less than three percent of the stories and articles. As for the issue of ethics, five percent will be used to define "sufficient" in this particular study.

H_1: At least 5% of all stories coded will discuss or mention the topic of ethics.

The second research question asks what topic or field of ethics is addressed when the issue is presented in stories and articles. It is necessary to define at what point there are a ***significant*** number of stories addressing a particular topic or field of ethics.

The researchers determined that of the 20 topics that stories will be coded for, the issue of ethics will prevail in only four or five of these categories. This determination is based on the content and emphasis of recent research literature. It is assumed, for a random distribution, an equal number of stories will fall into each of the following categories most often cited in academic research: education/students; digital or general technology, and field news (information and news about reporters and photographers out in the field), and the "general" or "other" category.

From this conjecture, the researchers figured that 20% of the stories would fall randomly into each of the four previously mentioned topics and that the remaining 20% would be sparsely distributed among the other topics.

A cut-off-point of 33%, one-third, has been chosen to represent a ***significant*** number of stories within a particular topic because it exceeds the criteria of a random distribution as defined by the researchers.

H_2: At least one third of all stories with an ethical discussion will fall within the category of education/students.

H_3: At least one third of all stories with an ethical discussion will fall within the category of digital or general technology.

The final research question asks to whom the stories addressing ethics are geared. The purpose of this question is to determine *who* these publications are informing the most in the area of ethics. The researchers coded for five audience types: still/video photographers; recipients of monetary or other gifts; general ethics; students/interns; other (television/ newspapers).

Once again, it is necessary to determine a *significance* point at which the number of stories geared toward a particular audience is sententious. As with the second and third hypotheses, 33% was assigned as the cut-off point for the third research question because that level exceeds the criteria of a random distribution for the five principal categories as defined by the researchers.

H_4: A significant number of stories with an ethical discussion will be targeted toward students and interns.

H_5: A significant number of stories with an ethical discussion will be targeted toward still and broadcast photographers.

METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the hypotheses a content analysis was done on three of the leading trade publications for broadcasters and photographers (still and moving). The three magazines were *Broadcasting*, *Communicator*, and *News Photographer*.

These three magazines were chosen under the assumption that mass media professionals are more likely to read one of these three magazines than any other trade related publication currently available. Although two of these magazines are organizational "members only" magazines (*Communicator* - Radio Television News Directors Association; *News Photographer* - National Press Photographers Association) it has been concluded that membership in these professional organizations emphasizes concerns of professionals within the respective organizational publications.

The magazines used in this content analysis are for the year 1990. For *Communicator* and *News Photographer* each issue during the year of 1990 has been included in the analysis. *Broadcasting*; however, is a weekly publication. In order to compensate to make the number of issues for each publication equal, the second week of each month was randomly chosen and included in the analysis so that there will be twelve issues for each of the three publications. This does not mean that by randomly choosing the second week of the month that the sample of *Broadcasting* is random, it merely means that only one week per month is included in the analysis and that particular week was chosen randomly.

Although no actual analysis was done to determine if there was a systematic flow of news for the second week of *Broadcasting*, several subscribers and regular readers of the publication were interviewed who remarked that there is no such systematic flow. To have analyzed every issue to determine whether or not a systematic flow existed would have defeated the purpose of eliminating the three other weeks from the analysis - lack of time.

The same ten-step coding scheme was used to analyze each story for *Broadcasting, Communicator*, and *News Photographer* (see Appendix 1). Each issue was coded for the name of the magazine and placement within the year. Individual issues were further broken down into individual articles and/or stories.

These articles and stories were coded for topical content, whether the article involved ethical issues, the length of the story in average column inches, background and gender of the author (if identifiable), and whether the article was accompanied by an illustration of any type (Appendix 1).

In order to code the stories into topics the coder read the title of the article and no more than the first three paragraphs. From this limited reading of the article the coder then choose which topic best suited the lead paragraphs as the dominant theme for the story.

Coders were not to read any further in the article in order to avoid confusion or error due to dual or multiple topic or subject stories. It was assumed that the leading theme or subject would be the most important item in each story.

Some stories and articles were not coded or included in the analysis. These stories included any special section or insert, advertisements of any kind, side-bar stories blocked off from the main body of the article, letters or questions to the editor, obituaries, "news briefs", and any other unrelated text.

RESULTS

The total number of stories coded for the three magazines equaled 718. Of these stories only 19 were determined to address the issue of ethics. *Broadcasting* represented 63.4% of total stories; .659% (n=3) of these discussed the topic of ethics. *Communicator* represented 15.6% of the stories coded; 7.14% (n=8) of these stories discussed ethics. The remaining 21% came from *News Photographer* which also had eight stories mentioning ethics. For *News Photographer,* 5.3% of the stories addressed ethics.

Table 1

Magazine	*Total*		*Ethics Only*	
	Count	*Percentage*	*Count*	*Percentage*
Broadcasting	455	63.4%	3	0.659%
Communicator	112	15.6%	8	7.14%
News Photographer	151	21.0%	8	5.3%

N=718 N=19

The first hypothesis states that at least 5% of *all* stories coded will discuss or mention the topic of ethics. For all of the stories coded, ethics were discussed or mentioned in only 19 out of 718 coded stories, or roughly 2.65%. The hypothesis was rejected.

Howbeit, before we dismiss this hypothesis entirely, we should look further into the data. As can be seen by Table 1, two of the three magazines did have at least 5% of their stories mention or cite ethics. Both *Communicator* and *News Photographer* met the axiom for the first hypothesis, however, *Broadcasting* which had, by far, the greatest number of stories (63%) also had the lowest number cite ethics (.659%), bringing the overall percentage down to an insignificant level.

The second hypothesis states that at least one third of all stories with an ethical discussion would fall under the topic of education and students. A frequency distribution (Table 2) shows that stories which emphasized education, students and interns, accounted for 15.7% of the ethical articles. Only five of the 19 stories were determined as falling under this topic. The hypothesis was rejected.

Table 2

	Total Stories		*Ethics Only Stories*	
Topic	*Count*	*Percentage*	*Count*	*Percentage*
Regulation	79	11.1%	1	5.3%
General/Digital Tech	54	7.6%	5	26.3%
Editorial	45	6.3%	1	5.3%
Convention/Org News	49	6.9%	0	
Cable	41	5.8%	0	
Ind./Non-Net. Station	21	3.0%	0	
Intl. Broadcasting	21	3.0%	0	
Radio	36	5.1%	1	5.3%
Ed/Students/Interns	15	2.1%	3	15.8%
Business	90	12.7%	0	
Programming	74	10.4%	1	5.3%
Other	100	14.1%	5	26.3%
Freedom of Info.	13	1.8%	0	
Field News	28	3.9%	0	
Projects/Contests	17	2.4%	0	
In The News	16	2.3%	0	
Equal Rights	1	0.1%	0	
Darkroom/Studio	5	0.7%	0	
Truth In Reporting	6	0.8%	2	10.5%

* Percentage totals do not equal 100% due to rounding error.

The third hypothesis stated that at least one third of all stories with an ethical discussion would fall under the topic of digital or general technology. There were three stories that addressed the topic of digital technology and two that discussed or mentioned general technology (Table 2). The result, 26.3%, does not meet the criteria set for failing to reject this hypothesis.

It was previously stated that a random distribution of topics would result in each category having approximately 20% of the total number of stories. Although we reject this hypothesis, it is evident that the number of stories addressing this topic is not simply fortuitous. There are an abnormally large number of stories geared toward technology.

Table 3

Geared Toward Whom	*Count*	*Percentage*
Still/Video Photographers	8	42.105%
Monetary or Other Gift Recipients	1	5.263%
General Ethics	3	15.789%
Students/Interns	4	21.053%
Other (Television & Newspapers)	3	15.789%

* Percentage totals do not equal 100% due to rounding error.

N=19

The fourth hypothesis states that a significant number (33%) of stories with an ethical discussion will be targeted toward students and interns. Results indicate that 21.1% of all the ethical stories are geared toward students and interns (Table 3), this was the second highest reported target audience.

This total meets the criteria set for a random distribution for target audiences but it does not measure up to the required significance level for this study. Thus the hypothesis was rejected.

The fifth, and last, hypothesis states that a significant number (33%) of stories with an ethical discussion will be targeted toward still and broadcast photographers. Results indicate that eight of the 19 stories are geared toward photographers (Table 3). This is the most popular target audience for stories addressing ethics and thus accounts for almost half of all ethical stories (42.1%) that were found. As a result, we strongly support the hypothesis.

DISCUSSION OF LIMITATIONS

Although the size of the sample set (N=718) is sufficient to make generalizable conclusions, the sub-set of stories addressing ethics is difficult to make conclusions from. This is, of course, due to the small number of incidents found citing ethics (N=19). The researchers believe that even with a larger data set, results and conclusions would remain the same. Unequivocally, further research needs to be done using larger data sets.

Also, in determining the importance of ethics to media professionals, we attempted to base our findings within the framework of agenda-setting theory using these trade publications as the "professionals" media. Theses publications, however, may not accurately represent the personal agenda for many of these professionals, but actually represent the agenda of the publishers. The concept of the agenda-setting theory on such a limited scale has not been fully established.

The third limitation to this study was the way in which the stories were coded for topical content. Some to the coding was somewhat subjective due to overlapping topics of some of the articles. It is unknown whether a second coding would yield the same results. An exact replication of this study or modified replication using another year (i.e.. 1991) would be useful in determining wether or not coding was consistent and thus generalizable.

CONCLUSION

In this study we have attempted to determine whether ethics is on the agenda of media professionals by examining their current professional trade literature. Taken at face value, results indicate that the issue of ethics is not of great importance to those who set the agenda for these trade publications. However, after closer analysis of the data it can be seen that two of the three publications did have a significant number of stories cite ethics or ethical issues.

Both of the "members only" magazines (***Communicator*** and *News Photographer*) had more than 5% of their articles present ethics as an issue. This supports an assumption made earlier by the researchers that membership in these professional organizations would emphasize concerns of professionals within their respective organizational publications. As a result we can conclude that the NPPA and the RTNDA both have the issue of ethics "sufficiently" represented on their agenda.

As for the intended audiences of the "ethical" articles, the low number of articles directed towards students and interns (21.1%) and the actual number of articles which focused on education and students (15.8%) was somewhat of a surprise. Again, we expected these articles to account for at least one third of the total number of "ethical" articles. This low number may be accounted for by the fact that these publications are "trade" publications and may not attempt to specifically target those in the academic field. This may also be an audience that these publications want to begin considering more often in their content.

It does appear, however, that ethical concerns regarding new technologies, still video or digital photography are on the agenda of media professionals. Of the ethical stories coded, 26.3% involved aspects of digital or general technology. Even though our hypothesis was rejected this confirmed our conviction that these new technologies are raising concerns of ethics among media professionals, although not significantly as defined by this study.

Finally, this study produced an overwhelming amount of data that was not intended to answer issues in this paper. Since coding magazines is such a time consuming process, the articles were coded for information that was not preeminently relevant to this particular study. Data regarding the length of the articles, background and gender of the authors, and whether the articles were accompanied by an illustration of any type will be used to conduct further research for articles specifically involving ethics.

Some potential issues for future research are questions such as: do women write articles concerning ethics more frequently than men, or vice-versa? Are these articles about ethics, on the average, shorter or longer that articles on other subjects? Are they accompanied by an illustration more of less often that articles on other subjects? Regardless of the topic of future research, one thing is certain, more data will need to be analyzed for more generalizable results.

In attempting to discover the place of ethics on the on the media professional's agenda a more accurate assessment could possibly be made through survey research. Targeted at these same professionals, their own true personal professional agenda and the importance of ethics could be more accurately determined and compared to the current trade literature using this method.

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APPENDIX 1

Coding Scheme

Name of the Magazine

1= Broadcasting
2= Communicator
3= News Photographer

Issue — Page Number

Topic of the Article

1 — Regulation
2 — General and Digital Technology
3 — Editorial
4 — Convention/Organizational News
5 — Cable
6 — Ind. Sta./
Non-network Stations
7 — International Broadcasting
8 — Radio
9 — Education/Students/Interns
10 — Business
11 — Programming
12 — Other
13 — Freedom of Information
14 — In the Field - news
15 — Projects/Contests
16 — In the News - Events
17 — Equal Rights
18 — Darkroom Studio
19 — Truth in Reporting/
Photography

Ethical Articles

1 — No
2 — Yes

Ethical story geared toward whom?

1 — Still/Video photographers
2 — Recipients of monetary or other gifts
3 — General or broad ethics
4 — Students/ Interns
5 — Other (Television/Newspapers)

Length of the story in average column inches.

Author

1 — Staff Writer
2 — Professional in the Field
3 — Academician

Authors Sex

1 — Male
2 — Female
3 — Unidentifiable

Illustration

1 — No
2 — Yes

Blacks, Whites and Read All Over: Ending Slurs on Newspaper Use by Race

by

Gerald Stone, dean

College of Communications and Fine Arts
Southern Illinois University-Carbondale
Carbondale, Illinois 62901-6606
(618) 453-4308

Presented to the Minorities and Communication Division, AEJMC, Boston, August 1991. Funding for this research project was provided by The ANPA Foundation, Scripps Howard Foundation and more than a dozen other newspapers and newspaper organizations.

ABSTRACT

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For 50 years, newspaper research has depicted African Americans as non-readers, linking blacks with all the associated, damning non-reader traits. Those findings are reviewed, as is a recent finding that blacks' newspaper use increases with education. A 1991 survey, completed in Memphis, Tenn., compares young adults' Newspaper in Education experiences and their current newspaper use by race. It finds that, controlling for education level, newspaper use by young black adults equals the newspaper use of young white adults. Exposure to NIE is identified as a contributing influence, but other potential mitigating influences are ruled out. The study's findings suggest: (1) an end to the slurs that depict blacks as non-readers; (2) more industry targeting of young blacks, including increased content aimed at previously disenfranchised African Americans.

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by Gerald Stone

Three findings about newspaper use from the mass communication literature seem to be so well established that even Lowery and De Fleur would have trouble denying these outcomes are valid over time:[1]

1) Older people use daily newspapers more than younger people;
2) People with higher education use daily newspapers more than those with lower education; and,
3) Caucasians use daily newspapers more than African Americans.

This study reports on the third "truism." It offers a brief and general review of the substantial inventory of findings about the newspaper use habits of blacks versus whites, and it discusses a recent national study that debunks the litany of newspaper use by race. Primarily, however, this study reports on a current investigation of newspaper use by black and white young adults aged 18 to 34 that suggests either: 1) the mass media literature has been in error for decades, or 2) a trend exists that is resulting in equal levels of newspaper use for Caucasians and African Americans.

Persistent, Damning Findings

Not only are the negative findings on newspaper use by blacks extensive and consistent, they also present a steady source of adverse racial stereotyping about African Americans' mass media use.

The findings extend throughout the literature and are present in virtually every study that includes newspaper readership and demographic groups. Among statements alluding to the truism are: "Daily readership is lower among blacks than among whites,"[2] "...a much higher percentage of blacks in almost all categories chose not to read the newspaper,"[3] "Race...has always been a strong predictor of newspaper readership,"[4] "Low-income blacks make less use of daily newspapers than low-income whites...these generalizations hold regardless of usage level,"[5] "The nonreaders also are most likely to be unmarried and under 30 years of age...more likely to be low in formal education and to be black,"[6] "Consistent with previous studies, blacks in this sample looked into fewer weekday issues of the newspaper than did whites. They were also less likely to subscribe to a newspaper."[7]

These research findings were not intended as racial slurs, yet mass communication scholars were very much aware of other correlates with newspaper nonreadership. They include: less income, less education, an entertainment rather than information orientation,[8] fantasy vs. fact and escapist tendencies,[9] immediate vs. delayed reward,[10] little political knowledge, interest or participation,[11] lack of community ties and lack of neighborliness,[12] church non-attendance,[13] social isolation,[14] alienation from family and peers, and a taste for violent media fare.[15] Intent notwithstanding, the implicit association with such traits is degrading to African Americans.

To their credit, mass media researchers frequently emphasized that factors other than race might be responsible for the differences found in newspaper use. For instance, Bogart[16] and Jackson[17] each reported finding the usual demographic predictors of non-reading including age, education, sex and income within the black subpopulations. Burgoon and Burgoon even noted that race was one of seven variables that were not predictive of newspaper readership in their multi-market study.[18] In 1981, Bogart predicted and offered evidence that blacks would be the most promising future source of newspaper readership as this subpopulation becomes more ingrained into the mainstream of American society,[19] a theme implicit in Wilson and Gutierrez's 1985 work.[20]

Regardless of attempts to avoid disparaging portrayals of blacks, the research findings during nearly 50 years of mass communication study built a negative impression of African Americans. The findings may have assisted in minorities' disenfranchisement from mass media content.[21]

Childhood Exposure and NIE

In attempting to assess today's state of newspaper use among black young adults, two other variables are pertinent to the present investigation: childhood exposure to newspapers in the home and school exposure through Newspaper in Education programs.

Among explanations offered for the racial differences in newspaper use levels, is childhood exposure[22] or lack of having newspapers in the home.[23] This, too, has been a persistent theme in the literature on how newspaper use habits are developed.[24]

Cobb and Kenny reported a 17% disparity in the availability of a newspaper in the home between black and white high school students. They said availability accounted for blacks' lower frequency of weekday newspaper use, noting that black youths spent more time than whites with the newspaper when they did read one.[25]

In a series of studies through the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Newspaper Advertising Bureau focused on childhood exposure to newspapers in the home and in schools through NIE programs. Research conclusions were that children and parents interacting with newspapers at home is a primary predictor in forming later newspaper use habits; white youths have more home exposure to newspapers than black youths; and, school newspaper programs act as habit-forming supplements for young people who didn't have home newspaper experiences.[26]

One other study of NIE's effects found minimal newspaper use influences for the program among Caucasian college students but pronounced positive effects among African American students.[27]

Recent Counter-Finding

Hinted at by previous researchers, the predicted breakthrough came in a 1989 report commissioned by ANPA's Task Force on Minorities in the Newspaper Business.[28] Along with demographic data on the growth and improving income levels of the black population, the study included evidence of a closing gap between Caucasians and African Americans in newspaper readership.

Most dramatic were the report's figures showing a direct relationship between blacks' increase in education and income, and their newspaper readership. This was the first finding of its kind in a national study that indicated the pattern held for the general public.[29] Additionally, according to the report, newspaper readership by better educated, upper-income-level Hispanics and Asians equalled that of whites. Newspaper readership by blacks at the high education and income level exceeded that of whites.

With the 1989 report as a catalyst, the present study looked at a sample of young Caucasians and African Americans to determine if the 1990s mark the beginning of an end to five decades of adverse findings about newspaper use by blacks.

Present Study's Method and Hypotheses

The current research being reported is from a single-market study of how young adults in Memphis, Tenn., and Shelby County used newspapers in schools, and if school use increased their present newspaper use habits. Aspects of the study that relate to the racial findings are reported here.

Following a series of focus group sessions, a questionnaire was devised to measure school newspaper use and current newspaper use. A random sample of telephone numbers was drawn from the telephone directory with last-digit replacement. Surveys were conducted by trained interviewers (journalism program graduate students) who completed most of the calls in the late spring and early summer of 1990, with additional calls in December 1990, and in February of 1991.

The survey included two screening questions to identify school newspaper use by young adults: 1) age, 18-to-34 and 2) attending elementary, junior high or high school in the county. These two filter questions caused extensive participant non-qualification and resulted in less than a complete random sample. However, because the study was done in Memphis, with a 750,000 city population almost equally balanced between Caucasians and African Americans, the sample is 69% white and 31% black respondents. These findings are based on 423 completed telephone interviews with qualifying young adults.

Other than race and educational attainment, three independent variables are tested against three measures of current newspaper use. The independent variables are: 1) parental newspaper readership frequency when the respondent was between age 6 and 16; 2) parent-child interaction focused on the newspaper; and, 3) parental subscribing. Dependent measures were: 1) yesterday readership; 2) days a week the paper is usually read; and 3) current subscribing. Control variables included: gender, current household living arrangement, who subscribes, age, work and school status, and being in a Newspaper in Education program in school.

Based on the literature review, hypotheses were:

1) Young adult Caucasians' newspaper use is significantly greater than that of young adult African Americans.

2) When controlled for levels of educational attainment, no significant differences will be found in newspaper use by the two races.

3) African American young adults will report less newspaper use in their parents' home at ages 6-to-16 than will Caucasians.

4) Parents' newspaper use will account for differences in current newspaper use by race.

5) A variable other than education or parental newspaper use will explain differences in current newspaper use by race.

Survey Findings

Contrary to the extensive literature that documents far greater newspaper use by Caucasians than by African Americans, Table 1 shows that measures of yesterday readership and days per week the paper is usually read are higher for African Americans in the sample. However, Caucasians are significantly more likely to report being in a subscribing household. Based on these outcome figures for current use, the first hypothesis is rejected.

Table 1 does show that Caucasians have significantly higher levels of educational attainment than African Americans in the sample. Yet when viewed at each of the three levels of education, the only statistically significant differences are in yesterday readership and days usually read at the high school and below level. Both of these differences show more newspaper use for African Americans. At all educational levels, subscribing is higher for Caucasians, but the differences are not statistically significant. The findings lead to acceptance of Hypothesis 2.

Table 2's reported findings lead to rejecting Hypotheses 3 and 4. Although Caucasians reported significantly greater reading frequency by their parents, African Americans said their parents were equally high or higher in sharing experiences with the newspaper and were almost as high in subscribership. While subscribership obviously is overestimated by both groups (consistent subscribing beyond the 80% level is not possible in this market, although the question allows a yes response for "ever subscribing"), the percentages are similar. Therefore, Hypothesis 3, that blacks will report less newspaper use in their parents' home, is rejected, and finding no differences in parental use leads also to rejection of Hypothesis 4, that those differences will influence current newspaper use.

The final hypothesis is a test of intervening variables: a search for other explanations of differences in current newspaper use. For instance, gender rather than race might be a mitigating explanation. If males use the newspaper more than females, and if the sample includes far more black females than males, gender might account for any differences. Table 3 shows that gender is balanced by race, so gender is not a factor.

Current living status does show a statistically significant difference with Caucasians more likely than African Americans to live with friends or roommates, and African Americans more likely to live with children but no spouse. Blacks in the sample are also slightly more likely to live with their parents. Although there are statistically significant differences in living status, the only explanations that might account for current newspaper use differences are whites' greater likelihood of sharing a subscription cost with a roommate or having one who subscribes. Also, the financial and time-constraint implications of being a single parent with a child would mitigate against blacks using the newspaper. Conversely, a greater percentage of blacks still live with their parents who may subscribe.

Another variable in Table 3, who actually subscribes, should clarify the living arrangement differences. Blacks and whites are equally likely to report being the subscriber, but a greater percentage of whites have relative subscribers while a greater percentage of blacks have non-relative subscribers. These findings seem to negate the residential implications. Whites, who are more likely to live with roommates, say the subscription is in their surname; blacks, who more frequently live with their parents, say the subscription is not in their same surname.

The living status and who-subscribes variables taken together may explain some of the differences noted in Caucasians' greater subscribing, but the two variables' implications are too balanced to be of much influence on overall current newspaper use.

Table 3 findings also negate full-time work as an explanation for racial differences because both races have the same level of full-time work. School attendance shows a significant difference, with African Americans less likely to be attending school, but this pattern has reverse implications because full-time students are more closely associated with newspaper non-use. The age variable shows no significant difference between the races.

What does register a significant difference is having been exposed to a Newspaper in Education experience in elementary, junior high or high school. Eighty percent of the blacks recalled an NIE experience vs. only 59 percent of the whites. The finding, along with several previous studies of

NIE, suggests that the program succeeds best in cultivating readership among minorities who have had less exposure to newspapers at home.

In all, the test for intervening variables identifies only the NIE program as a meaningful mitigating factor that might account for differences in current newspaper use between the races. Hypothesis 5 is accepted because of the possible NIE influence.

Conclusions and Implications

The present study finds — as did the 1989 ANPA study — that there are no consistent differences in current newspaper use based on race, with the possible exception of subscribership. Subscribing to the metro daily, the only local daily available in the area, may be an aberration in this market because a monthly subscription costs $13 and because census figures show the SMSA has a high percentage of residents below the poverty level.

However, this study's figures suggest that African American's yesterday readership is actually higher overall than that of Caucasians, and higher at two of three educational levels. Additionally, usual weekly newspaper reading days is higher overall for blacks, higher for blacks at two levels of education and statistically higher at the lowest.

The study also shows that while Caucasians report that their parents were more frequent newspaper readers, subscribing levels for parents were similar and interaction between parents and children with the newspaper was slightly higher for African Americans.

This investigation is the second recent study to show African Americans' use of the newspaper is equivalent to that of Caucasians. One of three explanations is possible.

1) By including educational levels, the study negates previous research that failed to consider educational levels. In this case, the entire body of mass communication literature is erroneous and blacks have received both a bad press and short shrift from five decades of newspaper research findings.

2) The present study is among the early research investigations that chart a recent trend associated with higher educational attainment among African Americans. If the "truism" associating education with print media use is valid, then blacks are now at an equal threshold with whites to be considered among newspaper users.

3) If exposure to an NIE program is a mitigating factor, then the pervasiveness of Newspaper in Education has played a role in eliminating race as a designate of newspaper use.

Regardless of which explanation is valid, the implications are far-reaching for two reasons. First, the newspaper industry must recognize that African Americans have become a major demographic subpopulation for sales.[30] Content that appeals to black interests belongs in the daily newspaper. This is especially true for metropolitan newspapers whose target audience today often is the inner city, minority resident.

But a second, and perhaps greater implication, is the fact that this study's sample is based entirely on young adults age 18 to 34. Young adults have been the most rapidly eroding market for newspapers.[31] This study offers the newspaper industry hope of regaining its young adult readership audience by appealing to a previously disenfranchised group: African Americans.

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Table 1: Young Adults' Educational Levels and Newspaper Use by Race

	Caucasians	*African Americans*	*p*
Yesterday Reader (n=225)	53%	58%	n.s.
Days per Week Usually Read (n=387)	3.8	4.0	n.s.
Subscribe to Daily Newspaper (n=203)	54%	42%	.05
Educational Level:			
through high school only (n=171)	38%	50%	.01
some college/tech school (n=139)	33	34	
college graduate or more (n=103)	29	16	
At Lowest Educational Level, Through High School Only:			
yesterday reader (n=80)	41%	57%	.05
days usually read (n=160)	3.4	4.0	.01
subscriber to daily (n=70)	46%	38%	n.s.
At Middle Educational Level, Some College/Tech School:			
yesterday reader (n=78)	54%	63%	n.s.
days usually read (126)	3.8	4.0	n.s.
subscriber to daily (n=74)	59%	47%	n.s.
At Highest Educational Level, College Grad or More:			
yesterday reader (n=64)	65%	50%	
days usually read (n=98)	4.3	4.2	
subscriber to daily (n=56)	59%	47%	

Table 2: Young Adults' Parental Newspaper Use by Race

	Caucasians	*African Americans*	*p*
When you were young, say between the ages of 6 and 16, how often did your parents read a daily newspaper in your home?			
very frequently (n=248)	67%	44%	.001
less than very frequently (n=169)	33	56	
How frequently would you say you and your parents shared reading the newspaper or discussed things in the paper?			
seldom or never (n=96)	31%	24%	n.s.
occasionally (n=121)	38	35	
frequently (n=80)	23	29	
very frequently (n=30)	8	12	
When you were young, did your parents subscribe to a daily newspaper?			
yes (n=363)	89%	84%	n.s.
no (n=51)	11	16	

Table 3: Test for Intervening Variables Influencing Young Adults' Newspaper Use by Race

	Caucasians	*African Americans*	*p*
Male (n=167)	40%	60%	n.s.
Female (n=243)	41	59	
Current Living Status:			
alone (n=52)	12%	14%	.001
with friends or roommates (n=63)	19	7	
with parents (n=117)	26	33	
with a spouse (n=34)	9	6	
with spouse and children (n=105)	27	22	
with children only (n=27)	3	14	
other (n=17)	4	4	
Respondent Subscribes (n=55)	34%	32%	n.s.
Other With Same Last Name (n=89)	57	49	
Other, Different Last Name (n=19)	9	20	
Works Full Time (n=287)	63%	70%	n.s.
No Full Time Work (n=144)	37	30	
Attend School Full Time (n=68)	20%	9%	.01
Attend School Part-Time (n=118)	29	26	
Doesn't Attend School (n=231)	51	65	
Mean age (n=415)	26.9	27.2	n.s.
In NIE Program (n=235)	59%	80%	.001
Not in NIE Program (n=141)	41	20	

Ethics in Journalism: A Lens Model Analysis of Student Judgments

Dr. Karen J. Christy
assistant professor

The University of Texas
Department of Journalism
CMA 6.144
Austin, TX 78712
512-471-1980 (work)
512-443-3102 (home)

INTRODUCTION

In the late 1980s, Christians, Rotzoll, and Fackler issued a challenge to media researchers: "Those who care about ethics in the media can learn to analyze the stages of decision-making, focus on the real levels of conflict and make defensible ethical decisions" (1987, p. 2). However, when working journalists explain how they make ethical decisions, they say they do so almost exclusively by "gut" reaction (Rambo, 1989; Murphy-Racey, 1988). Rivers and Mathews (1988) explained that many of the ethical decisions journalists make

> typically have to be reached quickly, almost automatically, since time is always an insistent fact of life in the media of mass communication. And they have to be reached by men and women acting individually, guided by their personal and professional consciences. (p. 63).

Likewise, in 1980, Christians and Covert found that journalistic tradition "is to view life as a series of episodes, not a stream of experience. Individuals react rapidly to situations on the basis of previously internalized standards of news judgment, (and) focus on action rather than consequences" (pp. 45). Indeed, Frank McCulloch (1984) wrote in his preface to *Drawing the Line: How 31 editors solved their toughest ethical dilemmas*, that every ethical situation in journalism is "so complex and so laden with variables," the field defies classification, and that ethical guidelines are useless because they are "so frequently violated within hours of being posted on a newsroom wall" (p. 2). Even when journalists try to act ethically, they can come up with diametrically opposed conclusions to the same situation (Christians, Rotzoll and Fackler, 1987) and the appearance is given once again that no one is acting ethically.

So how can researchers study decision-making steps if those making the decisions believe there is no time for deliberation? How can educators teach ethical decision-making if there is no standard procedure? And how can journalists convince others that they are making ethical judgments when they have no way to explain their own decision-making?

Of course, educators do at least attempt to teach journalism ethics, and interest in the field has blossomed since 1980 (Christians, 1985; Christians and Jensen, 1988). There are books on case studies and on the philosophic underpinnings of journalism ethics (e.g.: Hulteng, 1981; Klaidman and Beauchamp, 1987; Lambeth, 1986; and Meyer, 1987). But too often for many ethics scholars, the teaching of ethics degenerates into questions simply of legalities: if it's not libelous or an invasion of privacy, go with it. One of the leading opposing voices is Merrill (1978), who called for ethics training that includes an explanation of some significant philosophers' maxims and analyzing why those imperatives might be worthy ethical guides:

> By systematically pursing such questions, we force our students to be concerned, not just with the superficial 'rules' of daily journalism, but with the first principles or roots of ethics in journalism. (Merrill, 1978; p. 60).

Schools that do not offer or require a journalism ethics course do so mainly because their curriculum is already too full and because they have no one on staff trained to teach ethics (Christians, 1985). Others feel journalists are unqualified (Carty, 1978) to teach ethics and students should be required to take a course from the philosophy department. Discussion continues unabated, but still there has been no extensive study into what method is better, or if there is any difference in the decision-making of students who come through any training method. We are left asking how there can be an examination which deals with method in decision-making when the professionals profess no decision-making process?

An answer is suggested in one psychologist's description of the trouble social policy-makers face, which sounds remarkably similar to journalists' fate:

> For policy problems whose solutions must rest on human judgment, there will often be different, equally plausible suggestions as to how the problems should be solved, and these differences in judgments easily lead to conflict. These conflicts will be

> exacerbated by the essentially covert nature of the quasi-rational[1] judgment processes that produced the suggestions, for since the decision maker cannot fully account for the way he arrived at his decision, there will be endless speculations as to why one course of action was chosen instead of another, speculations that will almost inevitably involve assumptions about sinister motives that the decision maker does not want to reveal. As a consequence, suspicion and distrust develop....(Brehmer, 1976; p. 986)

Because those advocating research in media ethics see the problem as one in decision-making, it is apropos that a theory utilized in its study should come out of psychological research in decision-making and is called Social Judgment Theory (SJT). It permits a subject to make judgments in the face of uncertainty and then allows a researcher to capture that person's decision-making policy through analysis of the decisions, rather than a person's self-professed policy.

While there has been no study of journalism ethics using SJT, it has been quite useful in identifying policies of decision-makers in other areas. Since the 1940s there have been many studies using the Lens Model, ranging from studies of marital and labor conflict (Brehmer,1976; Dhir & Markman, 1986) that have sought to help people resolve conflict by understanding their own and their partner's possibly hidden agendas, to studies of clinician's diagnoses of hyperactivity in children (Ullman & Doherty, 1984) that sought to identify good predictors of possible illnesses out of a variety of available cues, to studies of judgments of violence in pornography (Morris, 1986) that sought to understand how men perceived acts of violence in pornography in combination with such variables as punishment of the male aggressor or enjoyment of pain by the female victim.

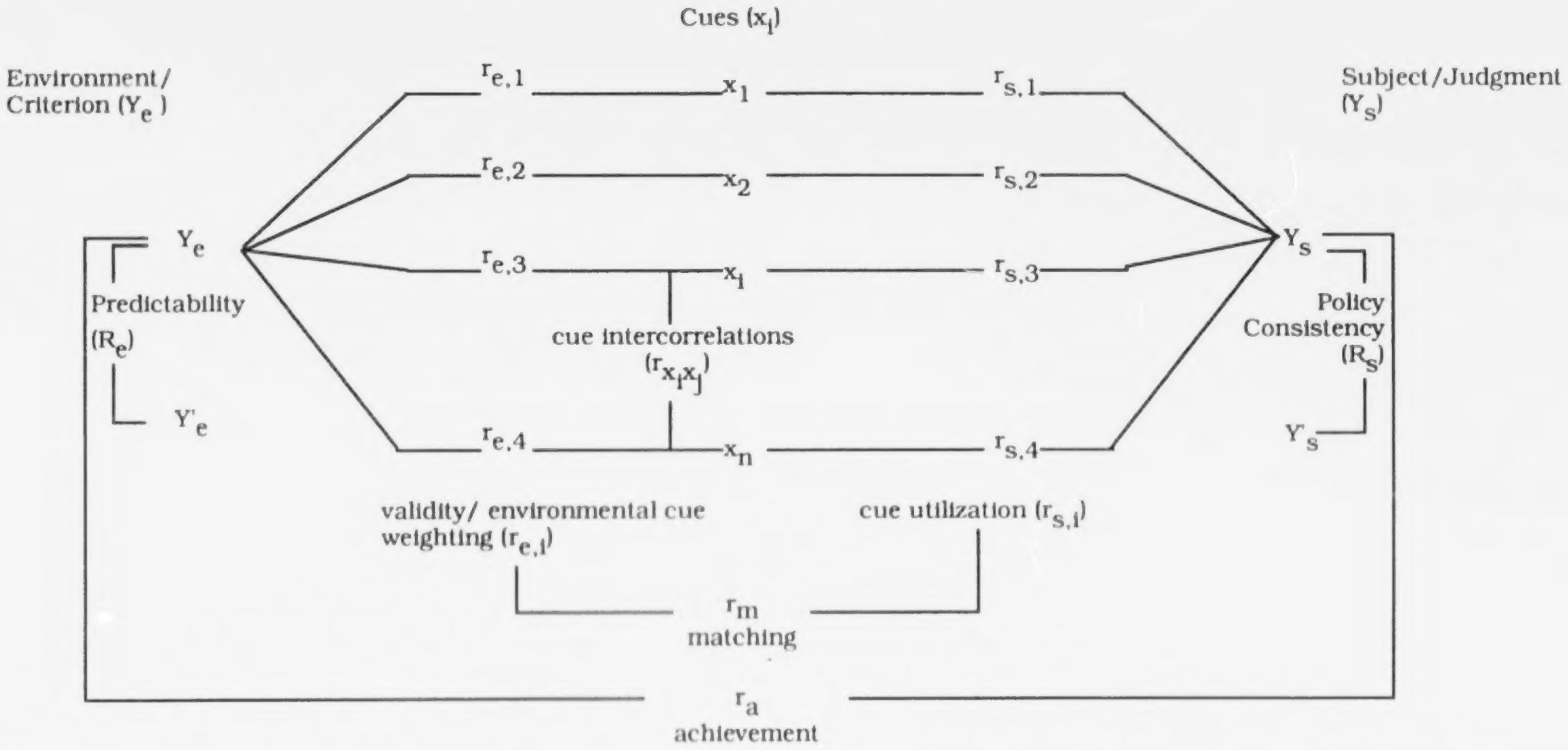
One of SJT's founders was a cognitive psychology researcher, Egon Brunswik, whose driving motive was to encourage psychologists not to get caught up in stimulus-response research in sterile laboratories but to "be concerned with the texture of the environment" (Arkes & Hammond, 1986; p. 57), an environment he saw as one full of "characteristic entanglements" and "ambiguity" (Brunswik, 1943; p. 256). Brunswik helped create the Lens Model (see Figure 1) which utilizes multiple regression as the form of analysis and graphically displays one of his chief contributions to the field of cognitive psychology: the concept of *representative design.* Brunswik was not as concerned with the subject sample as he was with making the independent variables as complete and realistic – as true to the environment – as possible. The Lens Model shows just how important the environment is — the Model is devised of two mirror halves, the right side representing the Subject (Y_s) and the left side representing the Environment (Y_e). The correlation (r_a) between the judgments of these two sides is one of the chief statistic examined in Lens Model research, and is called *achievement.* In Brunswik's first Lens Model studies, the environment was easy to measure because subjects made judgments about distances, discrete measures against which the subject's judgment could be tested for accuracy. In later studies, researchers have examined questions which have no "right" answer, but which have two or more people whose decisions can be compared. That is how this study will use the Model.

The rest of the Model consists of the center, or shared, part of the Model , which denotes the cues (x_i) — the experiment's independent variables defined by scales on which the cases are based so judgments (the dependent variable) can be rendered. The rest of the Model consists of the correlations between these parts:

- The cues' correlations with the subject's judgment are indicated by $R_{s,i}$ and are called the *cue utilizations*;
- The the cues' correlations with the environment (or criterion, or reality, or other subject's judgment) are indicated by the $R_{e,i}$ and are called the *environmental cue weighting* or *validity*;

Figure 1

Egon Brunswik's Lens Model, as refined by SJT researchers*


Cues (x_i)
Environment/ Criterion (Y_e)
Subject/Judgment (Y_s)
$r_{e,1}$
$r_{e,2}$
$r_{e,3}$
$r_{e,4}$
x_1
x_2
x_i
x_n
$r_{s,1}$
$r_{s,2}$
$r_{s,3}$
$r_{s,4}$
Y_e
Predictability (R_e)
Y'_e
Y_s
Policy Consistency (R_s)
Y'_s
cue intercorrelations ($r_{x_i x_j}$)
validity/ environmental cue weighting ($r_{e,i}$)
cue utilization ($r_{s,i}$)
r_m
matching
r_a
achievement

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* Derived from classroom lectures at Bowling Green State University by Michael Doherty, 1988; as well as from models on p. 58, *Social Judgment Theory* by Kenneth R. Hammond, Thomas R. Stewart, Berndt Brehmer, and Derick O. Steinmann; p. 528, *Social Judgment Theory: Teacher Expectations Concerning Children's Early Reading Potential* by Ray W. Cooksey, Peter Freebody, and Graham R. Davidson; and p. 569, *An Analysis-of-Variance Model for the Assessment of Configural Cue Utilization in Clinical Judgment* by Paul J. Hoffman, Paul Slovic, and Leonard G. Rorer, in *Judgment and Decision Making: An interdisciplinary reader*, edited by Hal R. Arkes and Kenneth R. Hammond; 1986, Cambridge.

- The correlation between the environmental cue weighting and the cue utilization is called *matching* and indicated by r_m;
- The correlation between the subject's judgment and the predicted values given the cue utilization is called *Policy Consistency* and is indicated by R_s;
- The correlation between the environment "reality" or second subject's judgment and the predicted value is called *Predictability* and indicated by R_e;
- The correlations between the cues are called *cue intercorrelations* and indicated by $r_{x_i x_j}$ on the Model.

To create an adequate study, the information provided in the cues given to the decision-makers should include all the necessary information available under actual decision conditions, in the same terms as in actual situations, and asking for a decision that would be made in actual situations.

Even though people may not be able to verbalize their own decision-making policies and believe them to be indecipherable, linear models such as multiple regression and analysis of variance have proven useful (Brehmer, 1976) in the analysis of judgment tasks. Brunswik (1943) believed such techniques "at least in a practical sense, come closer and closer to the traditional scientific ideal, the isolation of variables and the establishment of general cause and effect relationships." (p. 271). The Lens Model enables researchers to discuss judgments in terms of the cues' additive or configural organizing principles, the cues' relative importance for predicting judgments, the functional relations between cues and judgments, and the degree to which judgments can be predicted from the cues (Brehmer, p. 987).

There are three basic objectives of researchers in SJT, according to Hammond, Stewart, Brehmer and Steinmann (1986): **1)** SJT is intended to be life relevant. **2)** SJT is not a law-seeking theory. It is not aimed at finding the laws of human judgment; rather, it is intended to be descriptive. **3)** Social judgment theorists are interested in creating cognitive aids for human judgments – particularly for those persons who must exercise their judgment in the effort to formulate social policy and who will ordinarily find themselves embroiled in bitter dispute as they do so. Social judgment theorists intend not only to understand human judgment but to create and develop ways of improving it. (p. 60)

According to the research tradition as explained by these social scientists, a Lens Model study must: **First,** identify the judgment problem — the decision to be made, the information (cues) on which the decision is based, and the formal properties (intercorrelations, distributions and ranges) of the cues. **Second** is the exercise of the judgment, when the person makes decisions about a representative set of cases of the judgment problem. Each case consists of a profile representing a different combination or mix of values on the several cues. The person indicates the judgment by rating a number of profiles or cases on a numerical scale. **Third** is the analysis of the judgment, using multiple regression. **Fourth** is the display of results of the analysis – the cues' weights and function forms – so the decision-maker can better understand the decisions made.

Because this study is the first of its kind in studying journalism ethics, the fourth step, display of results to the decision-makers, will be left to future research. This study of journalistic ethical decision-making will test the viability of using SJT in journalism ethics studies by applying it to the often-pondered but never-answered dilemma in journalism education (Christians, 1978): given that we need to teach students ethical decision-making, *how* do we teach ethics?[2] There are two ways now being used in journalism education — the pervasive method, which most schools use and in which professors discuss ethics when the situation arises in the classroom but the school offers no specific course in journalism ethics; and the systematic method, in which a full-term course in journalism ethics is taught and students are exposed to the philosophical underpinnings of ethical logic as well as journalism case studies. This study will examine the judgments made and the cues' weights and function forms to determine if there is a difference in decisions and cue utilization between students taught in a pervasive method of ethical training and students in a systematic method.

It is hypothesized that if the systematic method is the better way:

- H_1: the systematic method's more extensive ethical training will make students more consistent in their answers, so subjects from a school using that method will score higher than students from a school using the pervasive method on a Consistency Index which measures how different the subject's responses were to repeated cases and the Lens Model's R_S.
- H_2: the systematic method's extensive ethical training will make the students more attuned to the concept of humaneness rather than the desire to run any and everything they legally can run, and so their cue utilization on the humaneness variable will be higher than students from a school using the pervasive method.

METHOD

Subjects

The hypotheses demand the use of two groups of subjects — one from a school which teaches ethics in the systematic method and one from a school which uses the pervasive method. Few schools actually offer, and even fewer require, an ethics course in their curriculum (Kostyu, 1989). Once a professor at a school using the pervasive method agreed to participate in the study, a school in the same geographic area and requiring an ethics course was sought out. One school agreed to participate; both were in the same geographic region and both were state universities with accredited journalism departments.

It was decided to include schools in the same geographic area to keep the possible cultural differences at a minimum. In order to keep ethical training differences as low as possible, given the methods being used, it was decided that participants from the systematic school would be members of the ethics classes offered that term — students for whom ethics would be fresh on their minds — while students in the pervasive method would be members of a journalism law and ethics class (in which just one week was spent discussing ethics) — students for whom ethics would be as fresh on their minds as any other class offered. The questionnaires were administered in the last week of the semester, also helping to give the students the fullest effect of their ethics training.

Apparatus: The Questionnaire

Defining the Cues

While the dependent variable — the student's judgment — may be one of ethics, the information comes to the journalist in the form of a news story, so to be true to Brunswik's representative design concept, the information must be dealt with as news values. While it can be said that there is no clear-cut definition of news, a review of journalism texts indicates that there are some basic concepts a good news item should have: timeliness, proximity, prominence, consequence, novelty, accuracy, fairness, completeness, and spread. [3] The most important considerations, if we look at how many media ethics researchers commented on it, are accuracy and completeness. However, there is no research that spells out how variables should be treated. Rather than seeking a law of newsworthiness, SJT encourages researchers to describe how people make the decisions they do. So, the challenge for the decision-making researcher is to establish a profile in which these concepts can be varied along a scale so a multiple regression analysis is possible.

For this study, the cues selected to define newsworthiness were:

1. **SPREAD** of the rumor: This was operationally defined as the number of phone calls the news office had received asking about the rumor. While the number of calls could be unlimited, it was necessary to have a limited number in order to create a set of cases which could be regressed, a limited number which were realistically feasible and diverse enough to evoke different treatment responses in the decision-maker, so the number of phone calls were: 0, 10, or 50.

2. **PROMINENCE** of the figure: The variety in this cue was taken from an overview of legal cases involving the identification of public or private persons in libel or privacy cases. The prominence cue included four levels: chief executive officer of a major corporation, mayor, U.S. representative, presidential candidate.

3. **PROXIMITY** of their hometown: This was a simple mileage measurement which might correspond to a newspaper's circulation area. Figures were identified on a three-part scale as being from a hometown either 0 miles away (the paper is published in their hometown), 50 miles away (about an hour away; could be considered the edge of a newspaper's circulation area) or 200 miles away (which would put their hometown at the other side of this state).

4. the reporter's **SOURCE**: No specific sources were defined in this cue, just their objectivity, so the source was defined on a three-part scale as either a reliable, unbiased source, an unknown source, or a biased source.

5. **VERIFICATION** of the rumor: This four-part scale was defined as how the figure about whom the rumor was reported responded to the rumor. The choices went from the reporter being unable to contact the figure, to the figure being contacted but saying "no comment," to the figure denying the rumor, to the figure admitting the rumor.

6. completeness or **CHECK** for accuracy: This four-part scale denoted the reporter's efforts to doublecheck the rumor with someone close to the figure. The reporter could have failed to contact a close friend or business associate, the person may have said "no comment," the person may have verified the rumor off the record, the person may have verified the rumor on the record.

7. **CONSEQUENCES** of the rumor: This was a low-high dichotomous scale.which included eight rumors selected from a Q-sort of 85 rumors gathered from the headlines. Four professors who have taught ethics were asked to put the rumors on a scale from 0 (no consequences) to 5 (very serious consequences). The eight were selected because the four agreed on their possible consequences as being either very low (0 or 1) or very high (4 or 5). On the low

end of the scale were: Figure had premarital sex with spouse, Figure's spouse has drinking problem, Figure's daughter entered rehabilitation program, Figure is dating a rock star. On the high end were: Figure's spouse did business with the Mafia, Figure put unskilled lover on government payroll, Figure paid secretary $10,000 to keep their affair quiet, and Figure had sex with minor, then tried to bribe mother to keep it quiet.

Although the seven dimensions are clearly not exhaustive of all the information and choices available to journalists when they make a decision about the newsworthiness of an item, these do represent a very large proportion of the parameters described in the literature. For the present study, the levels for each dimension were operationally defined and worded so as to fit with the general scenario used for the news situations.

Creating the Cases

The central vehicle for examining the judgment of newsworthiness was a hypothetical situation in which the student was to put her/himself in the place of an editor of a newspaper with a circulation of 250,000. The story, they were told in written instructions, would identify the news item and its spread, and would include all statements (admissions, denials or no comments) made by those mentioned in the scenario. In each situation, the subject was told that some people had called the paper asking about the truth of a rumor about a public figure who lived in the area. The subjects were told that one of their top reporters had heard the news tip from a source, and checked it out with the figure and a source close to the figure.

Twenty-seven cases were generated using the eight rumors and varying the other six variables (Phone, Source, Check, Verify, Prominence, Proximity) to achieve as much variety as possible in the cases and to keep cue intercorrelations low (see Table 1) so there was no relationship between variables that might muddy the findings. It was decided to keep cue intercorrelations low rather than attempt to duplicate reality because the true ranges and distributions of these cues are not known — there just seems to be no limit to the kind of private information somebody will publish about public figures, or to the kind of eye-popping escapades public figures will get embroiled in. Three of the cases were repeated (for a total case number of 30) and placed later in the set in order to facilitate the study of consistency and reliability. The first case repeated appeared second to the front and second to the end so the repetition was not too obvious. Likewise, the second case appeared fifth from the front and fifth from the end; and the last appeared ninth from the front and ninth from the end.

Table 1

Intercorrelation of news value cues ($r_{x_i x_j}$).

	Q	Ph	M	X	S	Ck	V
Consequences (Q)	1						
Phone calls (Ph)	-.006	1					
Prominence (M)	.004	.353	1				
Proximity (X)	-.076	.355	.264	1			
Source (S)	-.193	.270	.406	.137	1		
Check (Ck)	.342	.404	.018	.171	-.254	1	
Verify (V)	-.130	.176	.526	.495	.465	.053	1

Defining the judgment

The judgment problem in this research is one of media ethics: When is it ethical and responsible to publish private information about public figures? There had to be a basic level of comparison in order to analyze the cues, and because "some of the media's most agonizing ethical problems arise specifically from the public-private nexus -- reporting the personal lives of public officials, for example," (Christians and Covert, 1980, p. 29), it was decided that the ethical situations studied would all revolve around this question. The judgment was a measure of the strength of their conviction about whether the story should run. The question needed to be worded so that one response would indicate not only if they wanted to run the story, but how strongly they felt about the decision.

The case and judgment, as asked in the questionnaire, looked like this example (see Appendix A for complete questionnaire):

Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from an unbiased reliable source that a presidential candidate from a city 200 miles away had sex with a 16-year-old and then tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet. Your reporter checked it out: the candidate said "no comment;" the mother confirmed the story, on the record.

If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree? (*circle number*)

0-------10-------20-------30-------40-------50-------60-------70-------80-------90-------100

very strongly disagree	**don't know**	**very strongly agree**

Procedure

Administering the Questionnaire

Subjects in the pervasive method were instructed on the task procedure as a group in the classroom and completed the task in the classroom. Because of class time restrictions, subjects in the systematic method were instructed on the task procedure as a group in the classroom and completed the task individually in the school's office. Participants were given an experimental booklet (see Appendix A) including the instructions, a sample judgment task with answers indicated and the logic behind those possible answers, and the 30 situations. Pre-test students, under no constraints of time, generally took a half hour to complete the questionnaire. So subjects were told to expect to take 30 minutes on the task. Professors in both methods reported that most of their students took at least 30 minutes to complete the task.

Conducting the Analysis

The Lens Model requires researchers to use multiple regression to examine each student's decision-making process individually and then analyze the data, using regression statistics — r and Multiple R — to examine the correlations between the decisions, r_a; the cue utilizations, r_m; and the policy consistency, R_s. While a simple linear regression would provide information about these correlations, pre-tests indicated that Consequences and Check were interacting and that a regression model that better explained the judgments could be created using an interaction cue. So, the regression model used for the final analysis was a hierarchical regression[4] using the six cues which linear analysis and pre-test responses indicated were the best predictors, entered in the order of predictability with main effects entered before their interactions. One interaction suggested by pre-test students was a cross-product of Consequences and Check. When asked how they made their decisions, pre-test students nearly always answered that they only wanted to publish something if they got a confession (Check's level 4) and if the story was interesting enough (interpreted by this researcher to mean it fell in the high consequence category). This finding could be translated into a cue by recoding the 4-point Check into a dichotomous variable of admission/no admission, and then multiplying it with the 2-level Consequences.

Cues were entered into the regression analysis in the order of importance the literature seemed to place on what they represent. Two of the original cues — Source and Phone Calls — were eliminated from this final analysis to keep the number of cues manageable[5] and because linear analysis proved them to be inconsequential.

So, because accuracy, balance, and completeness have been deemed of especial importance to ethical journalists, the variables Verify (V) and the recoded Check (Ck^2) were the first to be entered in the equation. The recoded Check was a better predictor than the four-point scale because students did not seem to want to publish a denial, although factually a denial is as good as an admission in a high-consequence scenario. Consequence (Q) could be considered a measure of fairness and humaneness, if the decision-maker decided against running the acts of low consequence because they were just exploitive and not truly newsworthy, and so was next. Proximity (X) and Prominence (M) were the two variables that seemed used the most differently between the groups. Although nearly all writers about newsworthiness mention these two, just how they fit into the model is unclear. The Pervasive group seemed to use Prominence more, the Systematic group used Proximity more. In order to have the best set of variables for the two groups, both had to be in the equation. The last variable entered was the interaction between Consequences and the recoded Check (QCk^2), and represented what students in the pre-test said they did when deciding if they should run a story: They would run it if the person admitted to doing something of high consequence.. The interaction was entered last so the main effects would be accounted for first, and then the additional usefulness of the interaction determined.

The students' judgments on whether to run the story were correlated between the Pervasive and Systematic groups for an achievement (r_a) measure, as indicated in the Lens Model. The judgments were also analyzed for measures of variance explained and consistency. Each subject's Multiple R was analyzed as a measure of policy consistency, R^2 to see the variance explained, and a Consistency Index (CI) was a measure of internal reliability. The CI was the actual mean difference between the decisions made on the three repeated cases. It was expected that consistent students would achieve a CI score of between 0 and 30; even at 30, if a person answered 10 the first time and 40 the second on an item, the basic inclination remains the same: not to run the story. A 40-point spread would too easily include both decisions to run (e.g., 70) and not to run (70-40=30). Certainly anything over 50 would be considered too inconsistent to be reliable.

Analyzing Cue Utilizations.

While Brunswik used simple correlation (r) and standardized values (sv) as the cue utilization statistics examined in his regression model, because of interaction effects, another method had to be devised to study the utilization of each cue in this stepwise regression. Another method sometimes used to study cue use is Darlington's Usefulness Index, which Darlington (1968, p. 180) described as "the amount that the squared multiple regression would drop if the variable were removed."6 Darlington added that if the predictor variables are intercorrelated, the contribution to variance cannot be interpreted in the same way that it can be when the variables are uncorrelated. So, when there is high correlation between the interaction and its main effects, Darlington's UI is inappropriate. Such was true with this study because of the Consequences/Check interaction variable, so another measure was chosen along the lines of Darlington's UI in that it involved a direct account of variance. For this study, the cue utilizations were the actual increase in R^2 achieved when a cue entered the regression equation.

These statistics were used to test the hypotheses that if the systematic method produces better decision-makers than the pervasive method, then H_1: students in the systematic approach will be more consistent in their news judgments, so there CI and Rs scores will be significantly higher on average than those in the pervasive method; and H_2: the systematic students' cue utilizations of the Consequences (Q) cue and Consequences X recoded Check interaction (QCk^2) will be higher than the cue utilizations of these cues for the pervasive students.

RESULTS

Subjects

There were 33 student participants in the pervasive method, 23 student participants in the systematic method. Because of insignificant F scores in the stepwise regression and (in one case) an unacceptable Consistency Index score of 73,[7] four students were removed from the pervasive method group and three from the systematic group.

The groups were not identical, but did have many similar qualities. They were split about the same on sex: 59% were women in the pervasive (P) mode, 55% in the systematic (S) mode. Their income levels were similar, with 56% in the P mode coming from families earning $20,000-$60,000 and 70% in the S mode. About the same percentage of students (74% P and 68% S) reported they belonged to a journalism organization. Few students (26% P, 10% S) had taken an ethics course from another department. Most (89% P, 90% S) reported having belonged to an organized religious group, and the two groups had the same splits on what denominations they belonged to, with Catholics leading at each school: 46% P, 44% S, followed by about 34% Protestants and 4% Jewish; some 15% left the denomination blank.

But there were some differences. The S students were more homogeneous in terms of age and class: 95% were seniors and 80% were aged 21-22, where just 45% were seniors in the P mode and 43% aged 21-22. The P class also had 24% sophomores, 28% juniors and 3% graduate students. In terms of their political party affiliations, both indicated some identification with the Democrats (72% P, 55% S), and little to no affiliation with the Republicans (56% P, 67% S). But P students reported high identification with independents (65%) and only 28% S students were high on the independent scale.

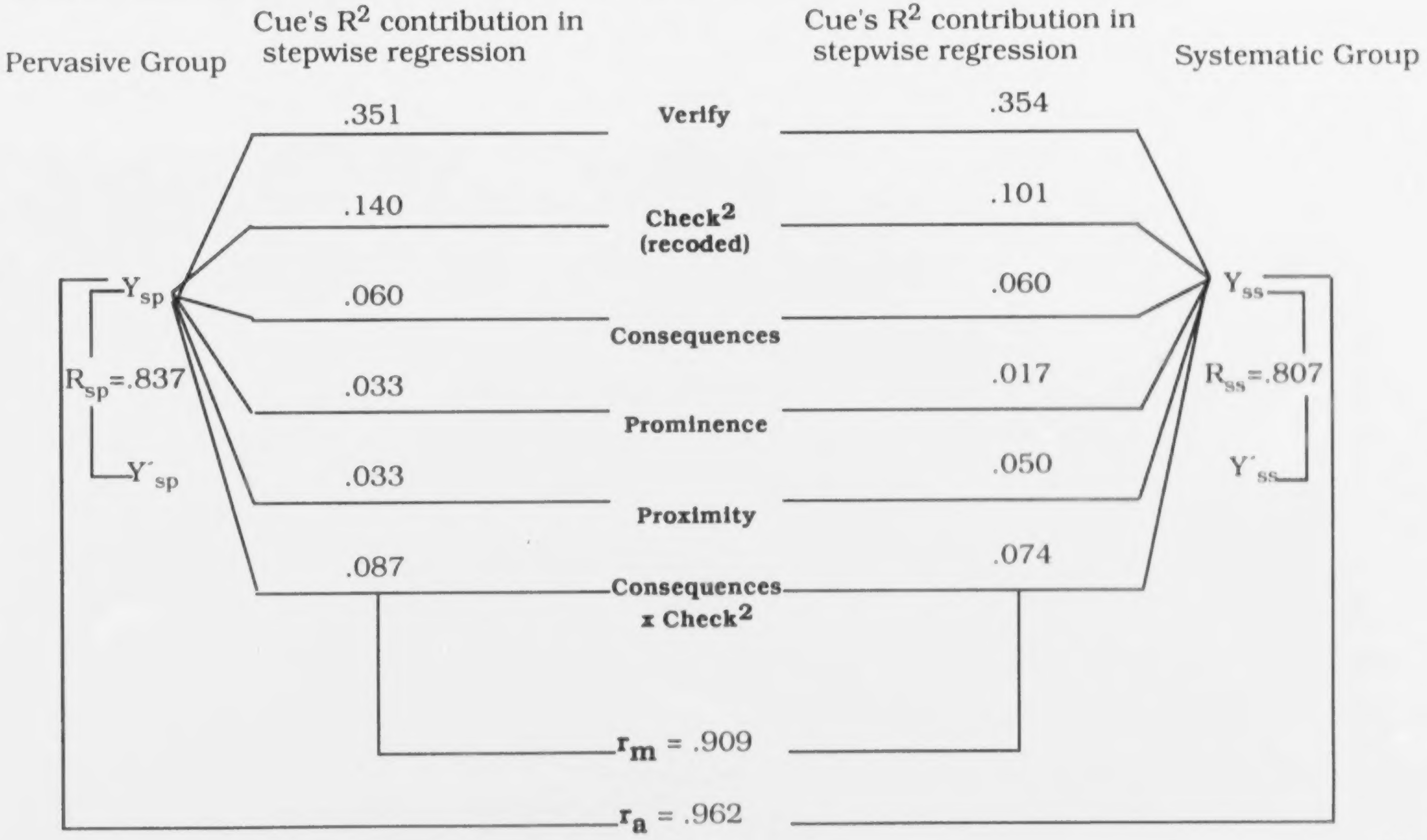
Besides class, another major point of difference between the groups was their majors. Some 55% of the S students were broadcast (including radio-television-film) students, just 14% of the P students were. The S university included advertising in the journalism school, but advertising is in the business school at the P university, so 15% of the S students were advertising majors, none of the P students were. None of the S students were photojournalism majors, but 17% of the P students were. The P course was not limited to journalism majors, and several students had their majors in political science or liberal arts, but none of the S students did. There were a couple similarities, however: 7% of the P students were in magazine journalism, 5% of the S students were; 14% of the P students were in public relations, 15% of the S students were; 17% of the P students were in news editorial, 10% of the S students were.

Judgments

It was hypothesized that if the systematic method is better at producing ethical decision-makers, they will be more consistent and use the interaction cue QCk2 , a non-linear measure of humaneness, more consistently than the pervasive group. Even a quick look at the results depicted in the Lens Model format (see Figure 2) will show there is no significant

Figure 4

Lens Model comparison of means from forced-order regression model


Pervasive Group
Cue's R² contribution in stepwise regression
Cue's R² contribution in stepwise regression
Systematic Group
.351
Verify
.354
.140
Check²
(recoded)
.101
Y_sp
.060
Consequences
.060
Y_ss
R_sp=.837
.033
Prominence
.017
R_ss=.807
Y´_sp
.033
Proximity
.050
Y´_ss
.087
Consequences x Check²
.074
r_m = .909
r_a = .962

difference when deciding if a story should be published. As the Model displays, the means of both groups' actual judgments for each case — the *achievement* or r_a measure — correlate at .96; The two groups' means of the correlations between the cue and the judgment — *matching* or r_m — correlate at .91. In addition, t-tests confirm (see Table 2) that there is also no difference between the groups in their linear model's Multiple R scores of consistency ($p=.17$), their R^2 scores of variance explained ($p=.17$), or their CI internal reliability scores ($p=.95$) (CI also in Figure 3).

Could these mean comparisons and averaging be hiding some important differences? As one psychophysicist explained, "In psychological research generally, there are most often large and systematic differences between individuals and occasions... These differences can reflect true differences in judgment strategies" (Sjoberg, p. 353). It is to be expected that there will be differences within the groups. The question here is whether the students seem to be equally different within groups. We can examine each student individually (Table 3) and find no pattern; a look at the standard deviations (SD) for each group's consistency measures (Table 2 again) as well as their cue utilizations (Table 4) also provide a good measure of the internal differences. According to the data, the SDs are very similar for all tests, which indicates that the similarity between groups extends to the variations as well.

The groups' differences in cue utilization were insignificant. As was expected from pre-test analyses which led to its being entered first in the equation, Verify explained the most variance: 35% for both groups; about half of the total 70% of the variance which was explained for most students. The recoded Check came in second in variance explained: 14% for the Pervasive group and 10% for the Systematic one. Although third in order of entry, Consequences was fourth in the amount of variance explained because the QCk^2 interaction cue explained 9% (P) and 7% (S) of the variance[8] and Consequences only explained 6% in each group. Prominence and Proximity seemed to tie for last place. Prominence explained 3% of

Table 2

T-test results for R , R^2 and CI in forced-order stepwise regressions.

R			t = 1.401	p = .1678	
		count	mean	SD	SE
	Pervasive	29	.837	.071	.013
	Systematic	20	.807	.079	.018
R^2			t = 1.412		p = .1647
		count	mean	SD	SE
	Pervasive	29	.706	.116	.022
	Systematic	20	.657	.122	.027
CI			t = .063		p = .9499
		count	mean	SD	SE
	Pervasive	30	16.89	13.87	2.53
	Systematic	22	16.67	10.44	2.23

Figure 3

Confidence Index: Students' answers to the three repeated cases (Q1-1 & Q1-2, Q2-1 & Q2-2, Q3-1 & Q3-2), and the average difference between the judgments (CI).

	id	Q 1-1	Q 1-2	Q 2-1	Q 2-2	Q 3-1	Q 3-2	CI	P/S
1	101	0	0	80	100	100	0	40	P
2	102	40	20	90	80	60	10	27	P
3	103	50	70	20	80	50	50	27	P
4	104	0	•	80	•	10	•	•	P
5	105	•	30	•	70	•	60	•	P
6	106	20	0	50	60	10	10	10	P
7	107	20	80	90	60	0	0	30	P
8	108	10	0	70	50	10	10	10	P
9	109	0	80	0	0	0	0	27	P
10	110	0	0	90	100	20	40	10	P
11	111	20	10	90	90	30	20	7	P
12	112	10	20	100	70	0	40	27	P
13	113	40	20	50	50	30	40	10	P
14	114	30	20	50	60	50	30	13	P
15	115	0	0	50	70	10	40	17	P
16	116	0	0	100	100	0	20	7	P
17	117	0	10	100	90	10	10	7	P
18	118	10	0	80	90	10	10	7	P
19	119	0	•	50	•	0	0	•	P
20	120	0	0	50	60	0	30	13	P
21	121	30	0	100	100	30	20	13	P
22	122	50	0	100	100	60	50	20	P
23	123	0	0	90	100	20	0	10	P
24	124	40	0	100	90	40	30	20	P
25	125	30	0	100	100	60	50	13	P
26	126	10	10	70	60	10	10	3	P
27	127	20	10	90	100	10	10	7	P
28	128	0	0	90	100	0	50	20	P
29	129	0	0	100	80	0	10	10	P
30	130	80	0	100	10	70	20	73	P
31	131	0	0	50	100	0	0	17	P
32	132	0	0	90	100	0	0	3	P
33	133	10	30	70	70	30	40	10	P
34	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
35	1	30	10	50	80	40	50	20	S
36	2	0	0	90	100	0	80	30	S
37	3	0	0	70	80	0	0	3	S
38	4	0	0	100	100	0	100	33	S
39	5	0	0	100	80	30	70	20	S
40	6	10	30	60	50	20	30	13	S
41	7	20	0	70	70	10	10	7	S
42	8	0	0	90	70	10	20	10	S
43	9	0	50	70	70	60	60	17	S
44	10	10	60	90	40	80	30	50	S
45	11	40	0	90	80	0	0	17	S
46	12	0	10	30	40	60	50	10	S
47	13	50	50	100	100	30	70	13	S
48	14	0	0	40	80	40	40	13	S
49	15	0	•	50	•	0	•	•	S
50	16	20	20	90	30	10	0	23	S
51	17	0	0	70	100	0	0	10	S
52	18	20	10	80	60	10	20	13	S
53	19	0	0	90	100	20	30	7	S
54	20	40	0	50	40	30	20	20	S
55	21	20	30	50	60	0	10	10	S
56	22	0	0	80	70	0	20	10	S
57	23	0	30	80	80	30	10	17	S

Table 3

Students' R, R2 and cue utilizations (increase in R2) in regression equation

Pervasive students			Increase in R^2 values					
ID	R	R^2	Q	Pm	Px	Ck2	V	QCk
02	.726	.527	.000	.171	.002	.309	.042	.003
04	.933	.871	.074	.188	.034	.001	.468	.101
05	.667	.445	.035	.005	.120	.099	.128	.058
06	.842	.708	.058	.016	.012	.162	.349	.111
07	.686	.470	.000	.039	.000	.068	.294	.069
08	.813	.661	.097	.035	.000	.179	.143	.207
10	.887	.787	.068	.022	.050	.029	.507	.111
11	.916	.839	.000	.027	.003	.196	.595	.018
12	.872	.761	.001	.008	.002	.361	.369	.020
13	.820	.673	.007	.030	.003	.018	.555	.060
14	.749	.560	.017	.003	.001	.136	.393	.010
15	.851	.724	.168	.025	.028	.016	.427	.060
16	.871	.759	.018	.007	.084	.126	.440	.084
17	.808	.653	.303	.005	.025	.064	.141	.115
18	.947	.897	.039	.016	.006	.030	.491	.315
19	.901	.811	.012	.003	.105	.001	.678	.012
20	.877	.770	.034	.016	.010	.012	.549	.149
21	.742	.551	.005	.004	.013	.234	.184	.111
22	.827	.684	.074	.002	.064	.186	.356	.002
23	.873	.762	.037	.007	.049	.093	.497	.079
24	.835	.698	.163	.058	.022	.153	.233	.069
25	.806	.650	.080	.013	.043	.164	.291	.059
26	.960	.921	.024	.008	.011	.398	.418	.062
27	.874	.764	.008	.003	.078	.178	.120	.377
28	.798	.636	.108	.045	.025	.140	.235	.083
29	.863	.744	.038	.060	.056	.354	.218	.018
31	.839	.703	.211	.081	.093	.114	.204	.000
32	.845	.714	.034	.017	.021	.189	.391	.062
33	.847	.717	.040	.054	.010	.055	.474	.084

Systematic students			Increase in R^2 values					
ID	R	R^2	Q	Pm	Px	Ck2	V	QCk
01	.768	.589	.081	.000	.095	.124	.153	.136
02	.773	.597	.034	.022	.136	.195	.149	.061
03	.921	.848	.005	.010	.029	.243	.460	.101
04	.734	.539	.073	.032	.009	.041	.346	.038
05	.746	.557	.168	.030	.057	.074	.208	.020
06	.875	.766	.000	.019	.004	.106	.526	.111
07	.858	.736	.054	.050	.069	.361	.110	.092
08	.829	.687	.058	.032	.159	.068	.283	.087
11	.886	.785	.025	.002	.064	.120	.487	.087
12	.822	.676	.411	.065	.006	.011	.135	.048
14	.800	.640	.102	.007	.014	.035	.463	.019
15	.850	.723	.041	.030	.000	.005	.569	.078
16	.682	.466	.036	.012	.022	.044	.345	.007
17	.855	.732	.016	.003	.044	.138	.427	.104
18	.895	.801	.002	.000	.001	.029	.735	.034
19	.807	.651	.008	.004	.063	.127	.345	.104
20	.593	.352	.014	.018	.129	.083	.093	.015
21	.751	.564	.007	.000	.025	.035	.490	.007
22	.836	.699	.010	.001	.039	.064	.508	.077
23	.854	.730	.063	.004	.034	.126	.243	.260

Table 4

T-test results for cue utilizations.

Verify t = -.048 p = .9619

	count	mean	SD	SE
Pervasive	29	.351	.164	.030
Systematic	20	.354	.179	.040

Check (recoded) t = 1.312 p = .1960

	count	mean	SD	SE
Pervasive	29	.140	.111	.021
Systematic	20	.101	.086	.019

Consequences t = .002 p = .9984

	count	mean	SD	SE
Pervasive	29	.060	.071	.031
Systematic	20	.060	.092	.021

Prominence t = 1.522 p = .1347

	count	mean	SD	SE
Pervasive	29	.033	.045	.008
Systematic	20	.017	.018	.004

Proximity t = -1.411 p = .1648

	count	mean	SD	SE
Pervasive	29	.033	.035	.006
Systematic	20	.050	.047	.011

Consequences x Check t = .550 p = .5850

	count	mean	SD	SE
Pervasive	29	.087	.087	.016
Systematic	20	.074	.059	.013

the Pervasive variance, 2% of the Systematic variance, while Proximity explained 3% of the Pervasive variance and 5% of the Systematic variance. The standard deviations and standard errors in both groups were also very similar (see Table 3).

What all these analyses lead to is the inescapable conclusion that although each person operates in a little different way and no one is a carbon copy of another, as two groups these students do not differ significantly from each other.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The Lens Model and SJT

Despite its being developed for more exact measures and a known reality, the Lens Model proved to be a useful tool in this study. It facilitated taking a systematic look at the so-called gut reactions of journalists (in this case, student journalists) to a very sensitive area of judgment: publishing private facts about public figures. This has not been done before in this way and may open the door to other studies of decision-making by journalists in an effort to better understand how and why decisions are made. It may be a lack of ability to explain what underlies decisions in this volatile area that contributes the most to the perception of journalists as egotistical and insensitive clods who hide behind the First Amendment while they humiliate hard-working public persons.[9]

There were some differences in the way this study handled the Lens Model concepts and the more traditional approach taken by Social Judgment Theorists. First, there was a difference in the precision of the cues' scales. For example, Brunswik's studies were concerned with a person's perceived distance from the subject, measurable in feet and inches. Studies in negotiation conflicts use specific wage offers, measurable in dollars and cents. Although this study used some cues which were on a ratio scale like these - Proximity and Phone Calls - most of them were on an ordinal scale - Source, Consequences, Prominence, Check, Verify. The nature of the judgment studied necessitates the use of ordinal scales. The cues seemed to present no problem in comprehension for students. The scales' orders were justified mainly in terms of standard journalistic procedure: For example, an off-the-record verification is better than no verification but an on-the-record verification is best.

Second, there was no known reality to which the judgments could be compared for a true *achievement* (r_a) rating. Here, the groups were compared to each other. A comparison of student judgments with their teacher's judgments would be a good substitute for future research. Another possible substitute for reality would be a professional's judgment. For example, if this study were to be run in Cleveland, the students might be asked to consider the Cleveland *Plain Dealer's* editor: Would the editor support the publication of these rumors? Then the editor could be asked to indicate whether she/he would support publication. Students' judgments could then be directly compared to one judgment for a more exact measure of *achievement*.

As was stated earlier it was Brunswik's hope that his Lens Model would lead to the establishment of cause and effect relationships, bringing social science closer to the traditional scientific ideal. It was with his goal in mind that this study was conducted. But because of the lack of precision possible in the independent variables, this study is closer to what Hammond, Stewart, Brehmer and Steinmann wrote was the objective of SJT – descriptive rather than law-seeking. This study can describe the decision-making policies of these two groups of students about the question of publishing private facts about public figures. But to say that a decision-making law could result from this research is to go beyond the realms of this study. First, the results would need to be replicated with larger groups of students, with different kinds of students, with different kinds of issues, and with working journalists as well of students. Once these studies are done, the field may be closer to Brunswik's ideal; it will certainly be more descriptive about journalists' decision-making policies.

Cue utilization

Although correlation, Darlington's Usefulness Index (UI) and standardized beta weights were possible means of exploring the subjects' utilization of cues for a linear regression equation, QCk^2 caused a multicollinearity problem with its main effects, Consequences and recoded Check , which made the use of Darlington's UI and standardized beta weights inoperable for a true picture of the relationships. Darlington himself explained that when there is high correlation between the interaction and its main effects, his UI would be inappropriate. The problem becomes more clearly defined upon examining the standardized values (sv) of beta weights. When the interaction is left out of the equation, the sv for Q and Ck^2 are positive. But when QCk^2 enters the equation, they become negative. Scattergrams reveal that the relationship is still positive, but the interaction is causing a confusing picture. Looking at one equation may illuminate this reaction.

Systematic subject 01 circled 60 for the first scenario, in which Verify (V) was 4, Ck was 1, Q was 2, Prominence (M) was 4, Proximity (X) was 3, and QCk^2 was 2. In the forced-order regression model, the equation looked like this:

$Y' = A \text{ (intercept)} + B^1X^1 + B^2X^2 + \ldots + B^7X^7$

$Y' = 54.35 + 5.316(4) - 52.874(1) - 38.48(2) - 1.057(4) + 10.525(3) + 43.931(2)$

$Y' = 54.35 + 21.264 - 52.874 - 76.96 - 4.228 + 31.575 + 87.862$

$Y' = 60.989$

But when QCk^2 is left out of the equation, it becomes:

$Y' = -27.498 + 4.104(4) + 19.222(1) + 13.05(2) + .009(4) + 10.529(3)$

$Y' = 64.861$

Without the interaction's effect, the beta weights are positive this time, the intercept is negative, and the predicted value is off 5 points rather than just 1 as in the first equation. The attempt to get around this problem and compare more stable cue utilization figures by comparing increases in R^2 when a cue is forced into the equation proved to be a useful variation of Darlington's UI concept. For this person, the utilization values were: V=.153, Ck=.124, Q=.081, M=.000, X=.095, and QCk^2 =.136. This allows us to see the power of the linear variables of Verify and Check and of the interaction without having to deal with cue utilizations which jump from positive to negative and cast a false light on the relationships. We could then see that the linear variable Verify and the configural variable Consequences x recoded Check (QCk) were the best two predictors, together accounting for nearly half the variance for most students: Verify accounted for an average of 36% (P) and 39%(S) of the variance; QCk accounted for an average of 23% (P) and 21% (S) of the variance.

Future study

There are many possibilities for future decision-making research of journalism's ethical problems. This study could be re-examined to see if subjects in the same sequence (news editorial, broadcasting, PR...) tended to answer more similarly to each other than to people in other sequences, or if there were any unique patterns for certain group's cue usage. Another problem which needs to be explored is the fact that few of the students in either group wanted to run a denial. Although it is true that printing a denial may only fuel the rumor mill and tell even those who did not hear through interpersonal means that a public figure is under suspicion of misconduct, the published denial can also be the only means public people have to rebut false rumors or get their own side of a story into the public arena. Further study should be made of this point to see if people with at least five years of media experience are also averse to running denials of misconduct. It may be that only after being in the field for a while does the importance of a denial become evident.

In his nationwide study of journalists, Endres (1985) found that although parents and early home life were the major factors cited as contributing to the participants' present journalistic ethical values, "day-to-day experience and observation of, and discussion with, colleagues are important factors in the newsroom setting" (p. 54). Also, he found that ethical values change over time, with experience and colleagues' behavior being important factors for change. Although his study does not discuss the relative importance of a rumor denial, his conclusion that values change with experience is a good place to begin a Lens Model study of exactly what those changes are.

In addition to looking at the judgment made, another way to look at ethical decision-making would be to ask subjects to justify their decisions by identifying the ethical principles involved, since, as Rivers and Mathews (1988, p. 11) put it, "Justification of questionable behavior is what ethics is all about." If students are the subjects, they could also note their confidence level in dealing with principles; perhaps those students who had the full-term ethics class would be more confident or more consistent in their use of principles.[10]

Conclusion

Does the systematic method of teaching ethics produce better (or different) decision-makers than the pervasive method? The lack of significant difference between the two groups on their judgments, consistency or use of news values show that despite the ethical training difference and the demographic differences, there is no systematic or significant differences between the judgments of the two groups of students. Although there was variation within the groups, there was similar variation in both groups. In common, students in both training methods were concerned about being accurate (Check), complete (Verify), and humane (QCk^2). Perhaps these students would agree with Robert Fulghum, author of the 1989 best-seller *All I really need to know I learned in kindergarten*, who maintains that we each learn basic truths early in life and if we recognize them as such, we can use them to live a moral and ethical life, whatever our career goals. Some of his words to live by include: Share everything. Play fair. Say you're sorry when you hurt somebody (Kanfer, 1990). About Fulghum, another popular advice-writer, Rabbi Harold Kusher[11] said, "In a world of complex ethical decisions, he cuts through the details and says, 'At the heart are a few simple rules. You can be a moral person; it's not as complicated as it seems.'"

But it must be noted that this study looked at just one issue in ethical decision-making: whether to publish private information about public figures. Although Christians did comment that such decisions were among "the media's most agonizing ethical problems," there are many other ethical issues which could be studied using the Lens Model. Further research is needed to see if such ethical questions – for example, accepting freebies, getting news by surreptitious means, leaking government secrets – produce any significant differences between students in both training methods. It may be something peculiar about these students which is making them so similar – such as the fact that they are nearly all from the Great Lakes geographic area – or it may be that publishing scandal is such a topic of discussion in everyday life as well as in journalism classes that any student would answer in the same way. Further study is needed to be more accurate.

To conclude, this study of decision-making suggests two conclusions. First, that most student journalists want to be as accurate, fair, and complete as possible, at least when publishing possible scandals. Second, that students may not need a separate ethics course to tell them this. There certainly may be many other values of an ethics course in the journalism curriculum, but this study suggests that making better decision-makers about whether to publish a scandal is not one of them.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] Brehmer (1976, p. 986) described quasi-rationality as the mixture of analysis and experience on which human judgment is based. It is a mode of thinking, he explained, that is only partially rule-bound and in which the thinker cannot fully account for the way he arrived at his/her conclusions. Brehmer added that this quasi-rational mode of thinking seems to be typical "when a person is confronted with problems that contain uncertainty and when he has no aids to help him deal adequately with the problems created by uncertainty."

[2] Christians wrote that "A basic pedagogical debate emerges over adopting a specific course or absorbing ethics into the curriculum as a whole" (p. 8). In 1978, Christians found that 66 of the 237 schools studied had ethics courses but that 88 percent of the 171 without ethics courses believed it was pedagogically more sound to treat ethical issues as they arise in the classroom.

[3] A review of news writing books (eg. Fedler, 1989; Keir, McCombs & Shaw, 1986) and other news value articles (Eberhard, 1982) makes it clear that not only do terms vary from writer to writer, but the precise definition of *news* is not yet established. These terms were found in most of the texts examined.

[4] This was defined in Statview SE, the statistical package being used on the Macintosh, as a forced-order stepwise regression.

[5] This was following Bartz (1981, who wrote that the number of cases should be about five times the number of cues. That meant for 30 cases, there should be 6 cues.

[6] In personal communication (class lecture), Michael Doherty explained the formula: $UI=R^2_{all} - R^2_{all-x}$.

[7] A CI score of 73 means the student had an average of 73 points difference in his decision the first time he responded to a situation and the second time the identical situation

was presented. In the first repeated case (10 calls asked if the hometown mayor had pre-marital sex with present spouse; no effort was made to check with mayor or a close associate; reporter heard news tip from an unbiased reliable source), this person circled 80 (strongly agree) the first time, 0 (very strongly disagree) the second. To the second repeated case (50 calls ask if a U.S. representative from a city 50 miles away paid a secretary $10,000 to keep quiet about a brief extramarital affair; unbiased reliable source; politician admits it and secretary confirms it off the record), he circled 100 (very strongly agree) the first time, 10 (strongly disagree) the second. In the third repeated case, (10 calls ask if a hometown CEO had sex with a minor and tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet; unbiased reliable source; CEO denies story, no effort to verify with a close associate) he circled 70 the first time, 20 the second.

[8] It should be noted that the interaction cue came in first or second in most equations when the cues were allowed to enter freely. It was only when Check was forced into the equation before the interaction that its main effects could be seen.

[9] A *Publishers' Auxiliary* article which reported that the public does not want the media to report on officials' private lives, is just one of many voices denouncing the media as callous. (eg: Bowles, 1989; Braman, 1988; Lashner, 1976).

[10] This test of justification was actually part of the dissertation from which this paper was drawn. However, this part of the study was left out of this paper in order to keep the focus on the Lens Model and to keep the paper's length down to a reasonable 30 pages.

[11] He wrote *When bad things happen to good people.* This quote is from Kanfer's 1990 Time story.

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APPENDIX A

Part A. Questionnaire's opening letter and instructions
Part B. Questionnaire's cases as given to students,
and frequencies of students' responses
Part C. Questionnaire's demographic questions

A. Opening letter and instructions

Thank you for volunteering in this study of judgments by student journalists. All your answers will be kept strictly confidential; please do not put your name on the questionnaire.

Because the questions are judgment calls, without "right" answers, it is very important that all your responses are completed to the best of your ability. This questionnaire will take about 30 minutes to complete. If you get tired, just rest your eyes for a bit before proceeding.

Because your participation is voluntary, you may stop at any time without penalty; your grade in this course is in no way affected by your participation in this study. I would appreciate it, however, should you choose not to make any more news judgments, if you would go directly to Part II (third page from the end) which just asks some basic personal information and is very easy to complete.

In Part I of this questionnaire, you are asked to put yourself in the place of the editor of a newspaper with a circulation of 250,000. The "story" will identify the news item and its spread, and will include all statements (admissions, denials or no comments) made by those mentioned in the scenario.

Space has been left at the bottom of the page should you wish to make comments about the situation or your decision. You may also notice a set of seven numbers at the bottom of each page. You can ignore them; they are there simply to help code each situation for the data analysis.

Note

To help ensure that all students participating in this study are defining ethical concepts in the same way, I have described below how this questionnaire uses the following words. Parts of these descriptions will also appear on each page to help you choose:

- truth-telling: involves efforts to determine and tell the truth, to be accurate
- justice: to see the law righteously and impartially administered; to see wrong-doers punished and the virtuous vindicated
- press independence: to be unbeholden to anyone and unmanipulated; to be able to print anything about anyone deemed necessary
- humaneness: to protect the innocent or near-innocent
- community stewardship: to give the community information it needs to vote intelligently, govern wisely, and protect itself from harm
- loyalty to publisher: to print the kind of stories that enable the publisher to sell more issues and advertising space

Instructions

First, read the news situation: Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true your mayor was chased down the street by angry senior citizens. Your reporter heard the story from a reliable source and checked it out: The mayor said "no comment;" a senior citizen verified the story, on the record.

Now, answer the 3 questions.

If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree? If you feel the story should run, circle something from 60-100%: the closer to 100, the stronger you feel it should run. Circling 50 means you don't know if it should run. If you feel it should not run, circle something from 0-40%: the closer to 0, the stronger you feel it should not run. In this case, you may feel that, because of the news appeal of being chased down the street, an on-the-record verificatio, the number of phone calls and the reliable source, the story is sound and you may circle a high number, such as 90%.

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100

Which principle(s) most guided your judgment? In the space in front of the principles, check the one(s) you consider most important for your judgment in the case. You should rarely check more than 3.

For example, you may decide that your readers ought to know how its elected officials are being treated in public so you place a check (✓) to the left of stewardship. Or you may decide that stewardship is important, but also, because the situation is so unusual, you may think reader interest will be high and extra papers may be sold, so loyalty to the publisher is important. You would place checks (✓) to the left of both.

___ truth-telling
___ justice
___ press independence
___ humaneness
✓___ stewardship
✓___ loyalty to publisher

How confident are you of your choice of principles? You may feel pretty safe on the stewardship principle, so you might circle 80% or 90%. You may write in and circle numbers, such as 85%, 87%, 83%....

You're done with your first news situation! Once you have a few under your belt, these should go quite quickly for you. Thanks again for your participation and help in this research.

Part B - Cases and Frequencies of Responses

- Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from an unbiased reliable source that a presidential candidate from a city 200 miles away had sex with a 16-year-old and then tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet. Your reporter checked it out: the candidate said "no comment;" the mother confirmed the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100

very strongly disagree	don't know	very strongly agree

Agree to run	**P%**	**S%**
0	0.00	0.00
10	0.00	0.00
20	0.00	0.00
30	3.45	5.00
40	10.34	0.00
50	3.45	20.00
60	10.34	15.00
70	10.34	10.00
80	17.24	20.00
90	31.03	15.00
100	13.79	15.00

2143124 *(case's cue code=QPhMXSCkV)*

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that your hometown mayor had pre-marital sex with his/her present spouse. Your political reporter heard the story from an unbiased reliable source and made no effort to reach the mayor or any close associate.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100

very strongly disagree	don't know	very strongly agree

Agree to run	**P%**	**S%**
0	50.91	61.54
10	16.36	10.26
20	14.54	12.82
30	9.09	10.26
40	5.45	2.56
50	1.82	2.56
60	0.00	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	1.82	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1221111

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that the presidential candidate from a city 50 miles away had a daughter who just checked into a drug rehabilitation program for cocaine abuse. Your political reporter heard the story from one of the candidate's political opponents and checked it out: The politician said "no comment"; a close friend of the candidate verified the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	0.00	5.26
10	3.57	5.26
20	0.00	10.53
30	7.14	5.26
40	0.00	15.79
50	21.43	5.26
60	17.86	10.53
70	7.14	21.05
80	28.57	10.53
90	14.29	5.26
100	0.00	5.26

1242324

- Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from an unbiased reliable source that a mayor from a city 50 miles away had sex with a minor and tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet. Your reporter made no effort to verify the story with the mayor; the mother was contacted but would not confirm the story.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	32.14	45.00
10	28.57	10.00
20	17.86	5.00
30	3.57	10.00
40	10.71	20.00
50	0.00	10.00
60	0.00	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	3.57	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	3.57	0.00

2122112

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a U.S. representative from a city 50 miles away paid a secretary $10,000 to keep quiet about their brief extramarital affair. Your political reporter heard the news tip from an unbiased reliable source and checked it out: The politician admits the story but asked you not to publish it; the secretary confirms the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100

very strongly disagree	don't know	very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%*	S%
0	0.00	0.00
10	0.00	2.56
20	0.00	0.00
30	0.00	5.13
40	0.00	7.69
50	16.36	12.82
60	7.27	5.13
70	12.73	15.38
80	9.09	23.08
90	21.82	12.82
100	32.73	15.38

(in an unpaired t-test of answer differences between the schools, * p<,.05, ** p<.01)

2332143

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that a U.S. representative from a city 50 miles away had sex with a minor and then tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet. Your reporter heard the news tip from an unknown source and checked it out: The legislator denied the story; the mother was contacted but would not verify the information.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100

very strongly disagree	don't know	very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	28.57	45.00
10	28.57	15.00
20	17.86	15.00
30	7.14	15.00
40	10.71	5.00
50	3.57	5.00
60	0.00	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	3.57	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

2232232

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that a U.S. representative from a city 50 miles away has a spouse with a drinking problem. Your political reporter heard the story from an unknown source and checked it out: The legislator says "no comment"; a close friend of the politician was contacted but would not verify the story.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	**P%**	**S%**
0	25.00	25.00
10	25.00	20.00
20	14.29	20.00
30	14.29	15.00
40	14.29	10.00
50	3.57	5.00
60	0.00	5.00
70	3.57	0.00
80	0.00	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1232222

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a U.S. representative from a city 200 miles away arranged for a lover, who has no office skills, to get a job on the government payroll as an office worker. Your political reporter heard the news tip from an unknown source and checked it out: The legislator denies the story; someone who works in the office with the lover verified the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	**P%**	**S%**
0	3.57	0.00
10	3.57	15.00
20	3.57	10.00
30	17.86	10.00
40	25.00	10.00
50	3.57	10.00
60	10.71	10.00
70	7.14	10.00
80	7.14	5.00
90	14.29	10.00
100	3.57	10.00

2333233

- Your office has received 10 phone calls that a prominent chief executive officer of a corporation in your hometown had sex with a 16-year-old and then tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet. Your political reporter heard the news tip from an unbiased reliable source and checked it out: The CEO denies the story; no effort was made to contact anyone else.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	25.00	30.77
10	28.57	17.95
20	8.93	15.38
30	12.50	12.82
40	10.71	7.69
50	7.14	5.13
60	7.14	2.56
70	0.00	2.56
80	0.00	2.56
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	2.56

2211131

- Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from an unbiased reliable source that a prominent chief executive officer of a major corporation in your hometown had pre-marital sex with her/his present spouse. Your business reporter checked it out: The CEO admits the story but asks you not to publish it; a close friend of the CEP confirms the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	46.43	50.00
10	21.43	25.00
20	7.14	0.00
30	0.00	5.00
40	7.14	5.00
50	3.57	10.00
60	3.57	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	7.14	0.00
90	0.00	5.00
100	3.57	0.00

1111143

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that a presidential candidate from your hometown arranged for a lover, who has no office skills, to get a job on the government payroll as an office worker . Your reporter heard the news tip from an unknown source and checked it out: The politician said "no comment"; a close friend of the candidate was contacted but would not verify the story.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	**P%**	**S%**
0	14.29	26.32
10	25.00	10.53
20	10.71	10.53
30	10.71	10.53
40	10.71	10.53
50	10.71	10.53
60	3.57	5.26
70	7.14	5.26
80	7.14	5.26
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	5.26

2241222

- Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from one of the legislator's political opponents that the U.S. representative from your hometown has a daughter who just checked into a drug rehabilitation program for cocaine abuse. Your reporter made no effort to check the story with the representative; a close friend of the representative was contacted but would not verify the story.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	**P%**	**S%**
0	42.86	45.00
10	25.00	20.00
20	7.14	15.00
30	3.57	20.00
40	3.57	0.00
50	0.00	0.00
60	7.14	0.00
70	7.14	0.00
80	3.57	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1131312

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that the presidential candidate from a city 50 miles away has a spouse who has made business deals with Mafia-owned companies. Your political reporter heard from one of the politician's political opponents and checked it out: The candidate admits the story; a close friend of the politician confirms the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%*	S%
0	0.00	0.00
10	0.00	5.00
20	0.00	0.00
30	0.00	5.00
40	0.00	5.00
50	0.00	0.00
60	0.00	0.00
70	3.70	5.00
80	14.81	10.00
90	25.93	35.00
100	55.56	35.00

2342344

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a mayor from a city 200 miles away is dating a rock star [both are single]. Your reporter heard the story from an unknown source and checked it out: The politician denies the story; a close friend of the mayor confirms the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	7.41	0.00
10	0.00	10.00
20	3.70	0.00
30	3.70	20.00
40	11.11	15.00
50	14.81	20.00
60	22.22	10.00
70	3.70	5.00
80	25.93	5.00
90	3.70	10.00
100	3.70	5.00

1323233

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a presidential candidate from a city 200 miles away is dating a rock star [both are single]. Your political reporter heard the news tip from one of the candidate's political opponents and checked it out: The politician admits the story but asks you not to publish it; one of the candidate's close associates confirms the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	3.57	0.00
10	7.14	0.00
20	3.57	0.00
30	3.57	0.00
40	0.00	5.00
50	7.14	20.00
60	14.29	10.00
70	3.57	10.00
80	0.00	15.00
90	25.00	20.00
100	32.14	20.00

1343344

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that your hometown's mayor has a spouse who has made business deals with Mafia-owned companies. Your city reporter heard the news tip from one of the mayor's political opponents and made not effort to check the story with the mayor; one of the politician's close associates confirmed the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	7.41	10.53
10	7.41	15.79
20	7.41	15.79
30	11.11	10.53
40	11.11	10.53
50	22.22	20.05
60	7:41	5.26
70	25.93	10.53
80	0.00	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

2221313

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a prominent chief executive officer of a major corporation in a town 50 miles away has a spouse who has a drinking problem. Your reporter heard the story from one of the CEO's business opponents and checked it out: The CEO said "no comment"; a close associate of the CEO confirmed the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	14.81	21.05
10	18.52	0.00
20	3.70	21.05
30	11.11	10.53
40	14.81	15.79
50	11.11	15.79
60	3.70	5.26
70	7.41	10.53
80	14.81	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1312323

- Your office has received no phone calls but your city reporter heard from one of the mayor's political opponents that your hometown's mayor paid a secretary $10,000 to keep quiet about their brief extramarital affair. Your reporter made no effort to check the story with the mayor; the secretary was contacted but would not confirm the story.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	32.14	31.58
10	25.00	26.32
20	14.29	15.79
30	10.71	10.53
40	3.57	10.53
50	7.14	5.26
60	7.14	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	0.00	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

2121312

- Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from an unknown source that your hometown's mayor has a daughter who just checked into a drug rehabilitation program for cocaine abuse. Your reporter made no effort to check the story with the mayor; a close friend of the mayor verified the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	7.41	5.26
10	3.70	0.00
20	3.70	21.05
30	22.22	0.00
40	3.70	15.79
50	22.22	10.53
60	11.11	31.58
70	14.81	10.53
80	7.41	5.26
90	3.70	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1121214

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that a chief executive officer of a major corporation in a city 50 miles away paid a secretary $10,000 to keep quiet about their brief extramarital affair. Your business reporter heard the tip from an unknown source and checked it out: The CEO denied the story; a close friend of the executive was contacted but would not verify the information.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	22.22	26.32
10	22.22	10.53
20	18.52	15.79
30	11.11	21.05
40	7.41	15.79
50	18.52	10.53
60	0.00	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	0.00	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

2212232

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a presidential candidate from a city 50 miles away has a spouse with a drinking problem. Your political reporter heard the tip from one of the candidate's political opponents and checked it out: No effort was made to contact the candidate; a close friend of the politician confirms the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree | don't know | very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	3.57	0.00
10	3.57	0.00
20	3.57	21.05
30	7.41	5.26
40	14.29	15.79
50	21.43	5.26
60	7.14	21.05
70	17.86	10.53
80	17.86	10.53
90	0.00	0.00
100	3.57	10.53

1342314

- Your office has received 10 phone calls that a prominent chief executive officer of a corporation in your hometown had sex with a 16-year-old and then tried to bribe the mother to keep quiet. Your political reporter heard the news tip from an unbiased reliable source and checked it out: The CEO denies the story; no effort was made to contact anyone else.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree | don't know | very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	25.00	30.77
10	28.57	17.95
20	8.93	15.38
30	12.50	12.82
40	10.71	7.69
50	7.14	5.13
60	7.14	2.56
70	0.00	2.56
80	0.00	2.56
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	2.56

2211131

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that a prominent chief executive officer of a major corporation in your hometown arranged for a lover, who has no office skills, to get a job on the government payroll as an office worker. Your business reporter heard the tip from an unbiased reliable source and checked it out: The CEO admits the story but asks you not to publish it; no effort was made to confirm the story with anyone close to the executive.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	0.00	0.00
10	0.00	0.00
20	11.11	5.26
30	0.00	5.26
40	0.00	10.53
50	22.22	26.32
60	3.70	0.00
70	14.81	0.00
80	11.11	26.32
90	18.52	5.26
100	18.52	21.05

2211141

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a presidential candidate from a city 50 miles away arranged for a lover, who has no office skills, to get a job on the government payroll as an office worker. Your political reporter heard the story from an unknown source and checked it out: The candidate denies the story; a close friend of the politician confirms the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(circle number)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	0.00	0.00
10	7.41	5.26
20	3.70	10.53
30	0.00	5.26
40	14.81	10.53
50	11.11	10.53
60	7.41	21.05
70	11.11	5.26
80	25.93	15.79
90	18.52	5.26
100	0.00	10.53

2342234

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a U.S. representative from a city 50 miles away paid a secretary $10,000 to keep quiet about their brief extramarital affair. Your political reporter heard the news tip from an unbiased reliable source and checked it out: The politician admits the story but asked you not to publish it; the secretary confirms the story, off the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree   don't know   very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%*	S%
0	0.00	0.00
10	0.00	2.56
20	0.00	0.00
30	0.00	5.13
40	0.00	7.69
50	16.36	12.82
60	7.27	5.13
70	12.73	15.38
80	9.09	23.08
90	21.82	12.82
100	32.73	15.38

2332143

- Your office has received no phone calls but your political reporter heard from an unbiased reliable source that a mayor from a city 50 miles away has a spouse with a drinking problem. Your reporter checked it out: The mayor said "no comment"; a close friend of the mayor confirms the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree   don't know   very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	11.11	0.00
10	7.41	10.53
20	3.70	10.53
30	0.00	0.00
40	14.81	5.26
50	11.11	21.05
60	7.41	21.05
70	22.22	10.53
80	14.81	10.53
90	7.41	10.53
100	0.00	0.00

1122124

- Your office has received 50 phone calls asking if it's true that a U.S. representative from a city 200 miles away is dating a rock star (both are single). Your reporter heard the news tip from one of the legislator's political opponents and checked it out: No effort was made to contact the legislator; a close associate of the representative confirmed the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%**	S%
0	11.11	0.00
10	7.41	0.00
20	3.70	0.00
30	7.41	0.00
40	7.41	0.00
50	11.11	15.79
60	33.33	36.84
70	3.70	15.79
80	7.41	15.79
90	7.41	5.26
100	0.00	10.53

1333314

- Your office has received no phone calls but your business reporter heard from an unknown source that a prominent chief executive officer of a major corporation in a city 200 miles away has a spouse who has made business deals with Mafia-owned companies. Your reporter checked it out: The CEO said "no comment"; a close friend of the executive confirmed the story, on the record.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree — don't know — very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	0.00	0.00
10	3.85	0.00
20	3.85	0.00
30	3.85	0.00
40	3.85	5.26
50	3.85	21.05
60	26.92	15.79
70	11.54	21.05
80	15.38	10.53
90	19.23	10.53
100	7.69	15.79

2113224

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that your hometown mayor had premarital sex with his/her present spouse. Your political reporter heard the story from an unbiased reliable source and made no effort to reach the mayor or any close associate.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree
don't know
very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	50.91	61.54
10	16.36	10.26
20	14.54	12.82
30	9.09	10.26
40	5.45	2.56
50	1.82	2.56
60	0.00	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	1.82	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1221111

- Your office has received 10 phone calls asking if it's true that a chief executive officer of a major corporation in a city 200 miles away has a daughter who just entered a drug rehabilitation program for cocaine abuse. Your business reporter heard the news tip from an unbiased reliable source and checked it out: The CEO said "no comment"; no effort was made to confirm the story with anyone else.

a. If the news staff wanted to run the story, how strongly would you agree?
(*circle number*)

0----10----20----30----40----50----60----70----80----90----100
very strongly disagree
don't know
very strongly agree

Agree to run	P%	S%
0	40.74	27.78
10	22.22	27.78
20	7.41	16.67
30	18.52	5.56
40	7.41	11.11
50	3.70	11.11
60	0.00	0.00
70	0.00	0.00
80	0.00	0.00
90	0.00	0.00
100	0.00	0.00

1213121

Part C - Demographics

1. Your sex: ☐ female
☐ male

2. Your age: _____ years old

3. Class: ☐ freshman
☐ sophomore
☐ junior
☐ senior

☐ graduate student
check one: ☐ M.A.
☐ Ph.D.
undergraduate degree in
____

4. Your hometown: __________________, state_______

5. Your major: (check one)

journalism students
☐ pre-journalism
☐ broadcast
☐ magazine
☐ news-editorial
☐ photojournalism
☐ public relations

other students
(please specify major/option):
____
____

6. Please check the basic subject areas of the classes you have taken. NOTE: these are not necessarily course names. (check all that apply)

☐ journalistic writing
☐ reporting
☐ reporting public affairs
☐ publication edit/design
☐ media law
☐ media ethics
☐ media law & ethics
☐ magazine writing
☐ magazine publication
☐ the documentary
☐ radio/television news
☐ international media networks
☐ photojournalism
☐ copy editing
☐ feature writing
☐ PR writing
☐ PR principles
☐ PR techniques/cases
☐ press management
☐ media history
☐ media and society
☐ mass media research
☐ other (specify) ______
☐ other (specify) ______

7. Have you taken any ethics courses other than the one(s) offered by the journalism department? (check one)
☐ No.
☐ Yes. If so, from what department? ___________

8a. How strongly do you identify with the political parties?
(circle one in each row)

Democrat 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

Independent 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

Republican 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

8b. How strongly does/did your mother identify with the political parties?(circle one in each row)

Democrat 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

Independent 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

Republican 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely
☐ I can't answer this one because I don't know

8c. How strongly does/did your father identify with the political parties?(circle one in each row)

Democrat 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

Independent 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely

Republican 0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all a little somewhat strongly entirely
☐ I can't answer this one because I don't know

9a. Do you consider yourself a spiritual person, someone who believes in a "higher being?" (check one)

☐ No
☐ Yes

9b. How spiritual do you consider yourself? (circle one)

0-------------1-------------2-------------3-------------4
not at all spiritual a little somewhat strongly entirely spiritual

9c. Have you ever been a member of a church, synogogue or religious group? (check one)

☐ No
☐ Yes If yes, what denomination?________________________

10. Your GPA: (check one in each column)

overall	**journalism**
☐ 0 - 1.5	☐ 0 - 1.5
☐ 1.51-2.00	☐ 1.51-2.00
☐ 2.01-2.50	☐ 2.01-2.50
☐ 2.51-3.00	☐ 2.51-3.00
☐ 3.01-3.50	☐ 3.01-3.50
☐ 3.51-4.00	☐ 3.51-4.00

11. What is your family's total annual income? (check one) If you're not sure, answer to the best of your ability.

☐ $0 - $20,000
☐ $20,001-$40,000
☐ $40,001-$60,000
☐ $60,001-$80,000
☐ $80,001 and over

12. Do you belong to any journalism-related organization? Please include any student or professional publication you have worked for. (check one)

☐ No
☐ Yes If yes, explain ____________________________
____

* * *

Thank you! If you have any questions about the research or would like to learn the results, please write me, Karen J. Christy, doctoral candidate in the School of Mass Communication here, at 302 West Hall, BGSU, Bowling Green, Ohio 43403; or call 1-419-372-8349.
The info from this study will be analyzed in my dissertation focusing on news values and ethics training of student journalists.

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE:

THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

by

"Everywoman"

Beverly G. Merrick

Beverly G. Merrick, Ph.D.
Georgia Southern University
Assistant Professor, Statesboro

AUTHOR'S APOLOGY

Why I am wanting to solve every echo . . .

My grandfather, the fisherman
did not think to make me a fisherwoman.
My grandmother, the hotel cook
did not think to call herself a chef.

My father, the war-time soldier
is a gentleman.
My mother, the piece-time welder
is not a gentle woman.

My brother, the provider for his home
was not taught to give of himself.
My sister, the worker in the house
was taught to give too much of herself.

My son, who sees himself a future poet
painfully flexes his muscles.
My daughter, who sees herself a future president
slopes her shoulders, hides her breasts.

The male minister, called God's true disciple
is sometimes only a word merchant.

The female speech teacher, called a word merchant
sometimes speaks as God's true disciple.

The players, who tackle in the mud
see only the game, cannot hear the spectators.

The spectators, who cannot play in the game
see only the mud, can only speculate.

And the words, "We the People," mean we the men.

And the echoes, "Me Too," mean we the women.

And because so many are deaf to those echoes
because so many hear, but deny there are echoes
and because so many just say

SHUT UP!

just because
just because
just because

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE:
THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS
REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

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FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE:
THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS
REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

> As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place what was a den, and laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept, I dreamed a dream.
>
> -- John Bunyan
> Opening words
> Spoken by the Pilgrim
> The Pilgrim's Progress

PART I: The Allegory

Everywoman's Progress, A Morality Play

Everywoman had just finished her doctorate in mass communications and was going through the "Positions Available" in AEJMC News. Six universities seemed to fit her qualifications. Everywoman was euphoric: this was the time she had waited for, had worked for. The American dream could come true; she had doubted it would. After all, whoever wrote about Harriet G. Alger? She drafted the curriculum vita; contacted her references; and wrote a letter of inquiry to each university. But most importantly, Everywoman adjusted her thinking toward possibilities once again.

Then she got back to the computer and continued with her latest research topic, a major woman journalist who had written for The New York Herald Tribune during the 1920s and early 1930s. Ishbel Ross had never had been the subject of serious research: even though she had written for 60 years; even though she was a colleague to such big-name journalists as Walter Lippmann, Alva Johnston, and Stanley Walker; even though she was considered one of the major reporters out of 300 journalists covering the famous Hall-Mills trial of the 1920s; even though she was the reporter who was sent out by noted editor L.L. Engelking on a frosty New Jersey morning in March 1932 to cover the disappearance of "Little Lindy," Charles Lindbergh Jr. There are too many "even though's" that apply in the case of Ishbel Ross. For instance, after Ross left the Herald Tribune, she went on to write five novels, three histories and 20 biographies -- besides serving as a ghostwriter for several works.

Ross is the historical example of the Harriet G. Alger of journalism. Many of Ross' former colleagues had answered to Everywoman's earlier research inquiry to them, if there is one woman who deserved to have her life as a journalist told, it would be Ishbel Ross. The newspaperwoman did merit some reference in Richard Kluger's The Paper, which is a well-documented work on the Herald Tribune. Kluger devoted several pages to her. However, the fact that Ross has never been the subject of more than an article-length piece is defies logic, considering her excellence as the top newspaperwoman; some say -- including Kluger -- the top newspaper reporter in New York during the 1920s.

It is an oversight like Ross that makes women who are insiders in the profession question the flawed history of American journalism. Women who are yet only college students hunt through the journalism history book for more than isolated examples of those aberrant women like Nellie Bly and Ida Minerva Tarbell who somehow managed to be cited. They find a few more in the footnotes.

How does one explain to these fledgling journalists that women have contributed but no one writes about them? It is just not a logical explanation to fall back on justifications such as the following: "It was once commonly believed that women serve and men achieve; therefore, women are "undiscussed" in terms of achievement."

These college students must look to such authors as Marion Marzolf, who made the same points about omission of women in her history of women journalists, Up From the Footnote. And, of course, there is Ross' work, Ladies of the Press, written in 1936. Ross, one of the major women of the press who was never written about, collected the biographies of more than 250 major women journalists of her time. Many of these newspaperwomen's achievements would have been lost if Ross had not made that significant effort to record their histories. Ross had the backing of Harper & Row because of her outstanding record as a journalist and novelist. Her Ladies of the Press was a turning point for her. From 1936 on, she wrote only about women and their achievements, which was considered a highly unprofitable venture.

Ross apparently was aware of the ignominy of writing about women. In her sixtieth year of writing, she added a postscript to a July 15, 1975, letter to Marion Marzolf, who was then working on Up From the Footnote: "P.S. My book on Mrs. Wilson [Power With Grace[1]] came out very quietly the other day, and will probably never be heard of again. I am resigned to this and will probably survive it! I.R."[2]

Who wants to read about women anyway?

Well, Everywoman does, for one.

If women are not written about, then they disappear from history. It is as if those women have never existed. The next generation of women hunts through the footnotes once more, seeking evidence of their contributions. Then, in the case of women journalists, there are few heroes for women in the profession to emulate -- except male journalists, of course. Likewise, there are few female heroes in the profession for males to emulate. Everywoman wonders if the males notice the absences of women journalists in the way every women does.

Her first callback on journalism positions was from Everywoman's doctoral advisor, who told her one of the six universities, a reputed institution in the Southwest, had asked for a reference. Now, as friend and mentor, she was on the phone to give some advice.

---

[1] Ishbel Ross, Power with Grace: The Life Story of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975).

[2] Ishbel Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf (from 155 76th Street, New York, dated July 15, 1975).

"When they call you for your on-campus interview, do not mention the F-word."

"What's that?"

"Do not mention the "F-word. You know -- feminist. They have expressed some concern about seeing the women's studies certificate on your vita."

"Okay. I will be very careful to act like the prim and proper lady."

"You can concentrate on being exactly what they want for a while can't you?"

"And, forget the F-Word, no?"

They chuckled together over the inside joke, the hidden dialogue women share with other women. However, Everywoman took her mentor's instructions seriously. Once, in a workshop at M.I.T., after seething in indignation over a battery of sexist interpretation to history, she had blurted out some of that hidden dialogue. That's the unspoken "No, No!" for every woman who is trying to elevate the status of women across the professions as Ross had done.

As it happened, concerning Everywoman's interview at the Southwestern university, the one and only woman on the faculty advised her not to accept the position if offered, cataloguing a score of unspoken restrictions placed upon her in the journalism department: difficulties in finding a mentor, lack of positive feedback for her ideas, often having to test her opinions in a hostile atmosphere. To Everywoman, she finally declared rhetorically, "Why do you want to come in this cow-town anyway?

These cowboys will have your ideas roped and wrestled to the ground before the trail herd moves out."

Well, Everywoman wanted to come for all the standard reasons: to teach, to research, to serve -- to find a good place for her family to live and prosper. Most of all, a university is a place to develop ideas in an atmosphere that encourages academic freedom. Isn't this the goal of education -- to help students and ourselves seek the truth in its many forms? Or was she being rhetorical?

Everywoman was not offered the job. She does not know if it were her publishing history, which mainly dealt with women journalists -- Ida Minerva Tarbell, Nellie Bly and Ishbel Ross. She does not know if it were a male faculty member from her former institution, who just might have informed the faculty that she was a woman with dangerous ideas of equality -- which translates to many as wanting to be more than equal.

One visible radical activity Everywoman had participated in at her major Mid-Western university was a "Take Back the Night" March, in which women -- and several men -- marched across campus against rape and violence against women. That particular march had brought several cat-calls from the dorms to the marchers: "I wouldn't rape you, don't worry!" Everywoman had flinched when she heard the remark -- in the same way she flinched when confronted with misogyny in the profession, a hatred of women caused by a fear that seems irrational.

Perhaps there was another reason she did not get the job. On the day of the interview, there had been Everywoman's mute aversion toward the search chair's scathing attack on his wife over some hidden agenda at the faculty dinner. Perhaps that had something to do with it. Hidden agendas are nearly impossible to deal with. It is easier to understand reason when it takes the form of catcalls, even if it does make one flinch.

Perhaps, simply, Everywoman just did not meet the needs of the journalism program. Visible agendas allow one to discover where she is located in the schema of things. As communicators, the search committee should have known the value of truth more than anything else. If people can be straight-forward with a woman candidate because they have reasoned decisions, she is more able to adjust her attitude toward hope. Then, Everywoman is more able to look at herself objectively.

With these conditions presented, I launch myself into a paper on behalf of Everywoman, an allegory based on the earlier allegory of Everyman, a moralistic play written about the common man in the 15th Century, upon which such works as John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress are based. I transplant the structure of the allegory to Everywoman with the sole goal to argue for the need to make the lives, the goals and the contributions of every woman in the profession more visible -- to strive for truth, to uncover hidden agendas. I plan to draw upon anecdotal information of Everywoman because the discovery for truth is a personal process, more than a bill of rights catalogued on a list penned two centuries ago. A personal dialogue is a discourse Everywoman can reply on when analyzing a hidden dialogue that applies to a larger universe of denial affecting women across the professions.

I address conditions that pertain more specifically to the woman journalist. I also hope to make generalizations about all women workers.

Until every woman journalist is recognized as an entity fully capable of forming thought, fully capable of understanding the whole picture, her "Bill of Rights" in the profession will remain unfulfilled.

Discovering the Hidden Dialogue

The M.I.T. incident involving Everywoman happened at a workshop on the American psyche, which was led by a distinguished political science professor. His workshop colleague was feminist Kathleen Dalton, who for the most part sat quietly throughout the sessions. For four weekdays workshop participants rehashed the influences of Emerson, Thoreau, and all the other great New England thinkers of earlier centuries; never mind the philosophy of anyone south of the Hudson River, let alone those from the great black void west of the Mississippi. The workshop included a tour to Emerson's home and to the bridge where the Sons of Liberty shot "the volley heard 'round the world."

In the exclusive academic establishment of Cambridge, it was apparent our distinguished professor believed he, his colleagues and their predecessors had sole claim to the generation of and the development of the American academic psyche. We were pioneers because they had dared to be Pilgrims. We were God-fearing today because they celebrated the first Thanksgiving. We had legalistic system based on civil rights because their forefathers had drafted a Declaration of Independence, a Constitution, a Bill of Rights.

Everywoman wrote a note to herself as he was talking, "Perhaps he is right." Certainly, media has the tendency interview the gerus of Cambridge's academic mecca any time anything of any importance occurs on the national socio-political scene. She made a further note: "Perhaps, woman's thought is also defined by geographical boundaries. Are the gurus for women's thought also housed at Cambridge?"

It was now Friday afternoon, nearing the end of the week-long workshop. Two hours were to be allowed to cover the contributions of women thinkers. Dalton still sat mute during what proved to be a long, haranguing introduction by her colleague about the vagueries of women's contributions to thought. His subjective comments alternated between smugness anl patronizing reflection.

Dalton exchanged a glance with Everywoman, who in this case was the only woman student in the workshop, conveying a little flicker of shared confidences. Dalton then proceeded to show "Killing Me Softly," a videotape produced at Harvard,[3] which depicts the rape, mutilation and subjection of women in ads appearing in national magazines and media campaigns (a videotape that has not made the rounds in very many J-departments). But the tape was a good selection, considering Dalton was stuck with the choice of one and only one volley in a limited time-slot to show "the whole of a woman's perspective."

---

[3] "Killing Me Softly," Cambridge Documentary Films Inc.

Her purpose, Everywoman believed, was to stimulate feedback; Dalton did indeed get some immediate responses from the males, mostly defensive. Her prominent colleague responded with an anecdote about Harvard author Carol Gilligan, who wrote In a Different Voice.[4] Gilligan's work is considered in feminist intellectual circles to be a significant work about psychological theory and women's development. Feminists rank it up there with Simon's deBeavoir's The Second Sex, Alice Rossi's The Feminist Papers, and Germaine Greer's The Female Eunuch. Apparently, Gilligan is Cambridge's guru of women's thought.

Dalton's colleague wondered out loud if the workshop participants were aware that after Gilligan wrote the book, she had committed that unpardonable sin of divorcing her husband, and -- worse than that -- "of deserting her children." Her husband apparently had "put her through school" -- then she "discarded him."

It is so often the other way around; therefore, Everywoman could not help but get defensive herself. Everywoman could not recall a single time that any teacher or professor had talked about the personal life and decisions of a male scholar in such deprecating terms. Of course, there had often general discussion about biographical backgrounds. Everywoman had learned, for instance, that Albert Einstein was as backward in personal relationships as he was brilliant in forming theory. She had never heard his divorce phrased as "discarding his wife" and "deserting his children."

---

[4] Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice [Psychological Theory and Women's Development], (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

So, tongue in cheek, Everywoman revealed some of the hidden dialogue of women. She blurted out that the picture was much grimmer and of a much greater scale than the male workshop professor could have imagined. She told of her participation in a national women's studies institute in Ann Arbor in which one feminist had "a modest proposal" rivaling that of Jonathan Swift's. The feminist had tossed out the idea of killing all male babies at birth. She said that would in some small way (1) make up for the killing and maiming of female babies in many cultures over the centuries and, at the same time, (2) do away with the oppressors of women before they could form harmful ideas of sociopathic misogyny.

Everywoman's purpose was to show the uninitiated (to any other but their own point of view) the extent of the anger of oppression; some women hate men just as strongly as some men hate women. These women propose nihilistic solutions toward practices such as those that allow negative images of women to go unchecked in the national advertising campaigns. Furthermore, she wanted him to know that Gilligan uses a pretty thoughtful approach in designing a theory to explain oppression. Gilligan is a mild-mannered feminist, who ameliorates some of the more radical solutions to overcoming the long-term discrimination toward women and the overwhelming subjection that has bridged all of history.

Even many of those who claim a certain receptiveness to new ideas are enough turned off by the word "feminism" that they never have analyzed just who a feminist is and what s/he thinks, let alone why s/he embraced such a theory. They do not know there is a whole underground made up of women (and men) who range from radical lesbian feminists to third-world feminists, from traditional feminists to cultural feminists, from those who march for the ERA to those who support the First Amendment as a catalyst for change. Every feminist does not speak for every woman.

Dalton's male colleague said to Everywoman's recollection of the feminist's modest proposal: "That doesn't seem like the kind of information women should share with men. Men just might use it for their own purposes."

Touche.

However, with a walk across the bridge taken by the Sons of Liberty so fresh mind, Everywoman wondered aloud if Thomas Jefferson was advised by Ben Franklin not to mention the I-word in his declaration:

> Listen Tom, old boy, we don't want King George to get the wrong idea, do we? If you come on too strongly, the Indians from the Sons of Liberty tribe might dump more tea into the harbor. That hell-raiser Patrick Henry might say something else to incur Georgie's wrath. So, let's save those little extras about human rights that we are working on for later. We can edit in our demands -- such as freedom of speech and the press -- as amendments.

At the same time, picture King George reasoning, "I know the colonists love me; and besides, those who do not love me are not there. Therefore, there cannot have been a Revolutionary War -- because I am loved."

Both scenarios seem ludicrous; the first, because it shows a lack of courage to present ideas; the second, because it shows a lack of perception to accept them. However, Everywoman is asked to not be too pushy and complain too much; while Everyman fails to acknowledge the depth of oppression.

Digressing on the Visible Agenda

The visible agenda in the media reflecting the status quo is that Everywoman lives in a world in which some cultures still kill girl babies and still other cultures provide less than subsistence for aged mothers. Many societies systematically discriminate against the woman worker. But the problem is more complex than that. American media reflect a society that afghanistans the problem of female infanticide to China and aged mothers to hospital beds in Peoria. Working women are perceived as making inroads in the professions but are targeted for lower salaries through a complex process of denial. The journalism profession is no exception.

As every woman discovers early, one cannot believe the newspaper when it says everything bad is happening in Afghanistan -- the Gulf, the big cities, always elsewhere. That was brought home to Everywoman early, literally. In the time of Dick and Jane, Everywoman was one in four children who had been sexually abused. In the time of Father Knows Best, her mother had to work 18 hours a day to make the same wage as a man to keep her two brothers and her clothed and fed. In the time of Aunt Bea, Everywoman's grandmother died alone in a nursing home four states away.

Every woman has similar anecdotal information to impart to every other women. There is Pauline, who worked for AT&T for a score of years, pulling herself up through the ranks. She trained a male to do her job; he then became her supervisor -- at twice the salary, of course. There is Chris, whose husband divorced her after she decided to go back to college. Chris' husband married a more motherly type, who would cater to his needs. There is Eleanor, who earns $10,000 a year as a temporary, even with her masters in communication, because she can find no company that wants the burden of worrying about salary increments, let alone benefits and retirement. There is June, who has bought into that old model of elusive promises: "If you volunteer, you'll become more visible. Someone will see you are dedicated, so they'll take you on in a paid position." Over several years, June has earned a handful of awards, such as one from the city for community service. She is still hunting for he first full-time job at a university.

With gender discrimination operating under the veneer of justice and equality for all, it is difficult to make someone understand that a job is integral to well-being, even if one is a woman. So goes the ongoing late-breaking story that makes up the life of women journalists; they join the ranks of other women -- from the cradle to the grave. They are proof positive that the dangerous W-word is living and unwell.

The female worker is adversely affected by the unspoken thought which dictates that the male worker obviously falls into a protected class whose due could be any number of special privileges: higher salary, career-oriented positions, advanced placement. The male must be protected even though he has been awarded society's medal of honor for being the strongest of the species through Darwin's theory, the most psychologically stable through Freud's psychoanalysis and the most able to think analytically through Plato-Aristotelian logic.

There is some kind of unwritten law which dictates that the male journalist, like his working colleagues across the professions, must have "dubs" on the best jobs. A male must typically be the editor, although a woman may be a reporter. In the same way men must have the good jobs to take care of their families while women -- either married, divorced or single -- are living in some pretend world where the bacon magically appears on the table. It is so much easier to buy into this fantasy than face the fact that someone is being asked to work for less and to settle for less -- and "Shut Up!" anyway.

Claiming Credit Through Control

By controlling institutions such as the media, Everyman continues to claim credit to nearly everything that happens of any importance in the world. The male power structure continues to do this on an ongoing basis. For instance, the male hegemony of management recently laid claim to a theory that has been exercised traditionally by gatherings of women. In recent years, when the new consensus-building theories of management became popular, male business analysts had to go clear to Japan to discover a male source for the idea. They applauded male managers in Japanese industry for their innovativeness in developing the theory. One would have had to suspend belief to think U.S. business had developed the positive management practices themselves after they had years embraced unquestioningly for so long the power-model of "Theory X' management.

The Japanese managers advocate what is called quality circles, in which management, white collar workers and blue collar workers -- those from all facets of industry -- are brought together to share a dialogue. The Japanese believe that a healthy mind and body are imperative if one is to work to his or her maximum potential. The companies pay for exercise programs for the entire family, based on the belief that the health of the entire family is important to the health of the individual worker.

Meanwhile, during the early 1970s, the idea (per se) of shared management became very popular in the Western world, but here the theory seemed to generate from women as a class and to fall under such general definitions of consciousness-raising and environmental commitment. The idea is called consciousness-raising in women's groups because women are perceived to use emotional models. The idea is called shared management in business because Japanese men are perceived to use analytical models. It would seem here that the old maxim is true: who says something is often more important than what is said. When a feminist -- more so, when a woman -- vocalizes on a managerial idea, it is considered radical. When a Japanese businessman vocalizes on a managerial idea, it is considered innovative.

The theory expounded by the Japanese has always and ever been an idea of shared management originating with women in housework, in child-rearing and in the professions. Women began writing about shared management, and advocating the idea strongly, with the rise of the Industrial Revolution. Shared management had been discussed extensively and expanded through research most lately by American feminists of the 1960s through and 1990s, who adapted humanistic models from the world of women's work, inside and outside of the home. There are nearly two thousand books and other treatises on all facets of women's ideas toward sharing power and on setting up cooperative ventures in many kinds of arenas.

Our society is rife with examples of this humanistic design drawn from the women's world of work. Often, these designs proposed by women have been fought against vigorously by the male hierarchy only because they are proposed by women. Some men strongly hold the idea that anything good for women must be bad for men. Therefore, they fight against any reform that has "a women's label on it."

For instance, feminists in women's organizations across the country advocated passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act, which would allow either parent to come back to a position after extended leave for the birth or care of a child. The irony was that the 1990 bill was targeted for defeat for all the wrong reasons by larger managerial concerns. Opposition argued that the act was primarily a bill by women, for women. If the opposition could not defeat it, they planned to effect extensive revision, through lawmakers who feared the adverse impact such humanistic legislation would have against business and industry.

Furthermore, the nay-sayers convinced many of their counterparts that once these women got their foot in the door of big business, they would try to extend the measures of extended family leave to the smaller businesses, those of fewer than 50 workers. After that, larger companies -- then smaller companies -- could be forced to have day-care facilities. And, how would business and industry be able to make a profit? Prices would go up. Everyone would have to pay when it was an indivdiual woman's job to pay for child care, even if there were a lot of individual women and men collectively needing it. Besides, we would undoubtedly become a police state, in which government and industry programs our children if we take the care away from mothers. And, on and on. The only way to stop such a scenario, was to close the door before those women could inch it open. The nay-sayers never carried their arguments to the logical conclusions. That is, someone had to open the door to allow the woman to leave for work. Then, who cares for the children? Why, they let themselves in with a latchkey.

The argument of the naysayers sounds something like if-we-lose-our-machineguns-we-will-lose-our-rifles-type-of-logic, which is really not about machine-guns or rifles at all but about 25,000 people in 1990 killed by handguns. In Congress, there seems no problem with mowing down the opposition through this all-or-nothing approach. It is the same argument traditionally used by the uninitiated to fight against the unknown, employing the same kind of approach that defines all feminists as one big, fire-breathing dragon out there ready to burn terror into the heart of every dragon-slayer.

The dominant class of society tells us what to extol and what to fear. The dominant class becomes both rule-maker and the lawgiver. The dominant class speaks the dialogue of privilege because its members get to set the agenda, recommend changes, interpret results. The rest of us must somehow adapt to the system that benefits the privileged, or be destroyed by it. The deviant class can benefit when it is also for the good of the dominant class. But most of the time, privilege cannot be mutually shared because goals are different -- are perceived to be different (as in child care) -- even if we all must live by the laws written and unwritten. After all, there was never a benign Harriet G. Alger. Everywoman exists only in the deviant and dark, scheming Alexis.

Thriving on Privilege

The same salary rules have held true for college journalism professors. As a general rule, the tradition at most colleges and universities dictates the majority of professors must be men. High school journalism advisors, as a general rule, must be women. Women, if hired at the university level, are often pulled into community colleges or teaching institutions. There, they teach four to five classes per term. After all, that's what they do best -- teach. Then, the women professionals find there is literally no time to do research so that they can improve their lot: share dialogue with other professionals and extend their ideas into the marketplace of research. Women must ever be in a role in which they (1) prepare young men to be professionals and (2) prepare young women to train young men to be professionals. It is the never-ending story.

These perceptions are changing, albeit slowly -- that is true, but many women in J-departments that have commitments to research feel they are brought on board only under fear of charges of discrimination. Once esconced in the departments, they feel they are not taken seriously in areas of research and collegiality, as an incident at one of the AEJMC division meetings demonstrated this last year. At the Minnesota convention, it was the topic of many heated conversations, especially among women professionals. Again, male professionals only got a glimpse of that underground dialogue of women. Again, women were chagrinned that, in still another incident, the research of a female colleague was not taken seriously.

Many women professionals find themselves in the position of being given the responsibility of a major research project, but must struggle along without mentoring nor the financial support. The really important training culled from experience and a soundly based philosophy that leads to serious research must come from the male journalists. They are the more competent -- surely. What we are really talking about is being taken seriously, being valued as a full-participating member in research.

Several other gender-specific incidents occurring at the convention were troubling. Another woman (which I will again call Everywoman because the situation is so generalizable), on tenure-track status at a prestigious Northeast institution, was paranoid about whom she could be seen with during convention. Decisions about tenure were soon approaching. Everywoman was fearful that the research she had carried out might be considered as written from a women's viewpoint; and therefore, be considered "lesser" by the male hierarchy at her university. She advised a female friend to avoid a certain outspoken woman she had talked with on the convention floor because Everywoman feared the males in the audience might somehow connect her to the outspoken woman through a passing acquaintanceship. The word would get back. She believed she would definitely not get tenure if she was identified with women advocating women's rights.

The fear of "women identification" or "gender advocacy" is real for every woman, for behind nearly every hiring and promotion decision is a majority male vote or a unanimous male vote. Anecdotal information about an all-male journalism department at a Western university demonstrates the way in which overt discrimination is still practiced against women professionals.

Under threat of a suit filed through a regional office of the Equal Opportunity Commission, the department finally hired a woman to a permanent full-time position. She was not awarded tenure-track status, but at least she had made gains from permanent part-time status. The J-department hired the male candidate they intended to hire originally (who by the way, is very competent); but the department asked for special permission to also hire a woman (who by the way, is very competent), according to the assistant dean.

The departmental leadership have continued to justify their hiring practices by pointing to the one woman they had hired previously, decades ago. That woman ,was to represent their commitment to every woman. Since that time, many a male journalist has come and gone,.often with a nice pension to show for it.

Everywoman's daughter is enrolled in a J-department. Her daughter questions whether she even should even enter the profession. Although more and more young women are pursuing journalism degrees, and gaining majority status as students in many universities, they still see men taking charge in the profession. And, if men are mainly editors and publishers, broadcast spokespersons and advertising managers, they are working toward making themselves eligible for filling positions in college-level journalism programs that waive doctoral requirements. And, if women are mainly reporters and news writers, graphic designers and advertising salespersons, they are working toward one-year appointments in journalism departments.

The traditional male track leads to tenure, salary increments over one's working life, and a respectable pension for service rendered; the traditional female track leads to year-to-year appointments that may be full-time and renewable, less remuneration for service, and social security retirement. In this way, the system that elevates the male in journalism to greater rewards is self-perpetuating.

Everywoman knew the facts behind the hiring decision. She was the woman who filed the suit, mainly on behalf of her daughter -- and her daughter's possibilities for a future in journalism. Everywoman did this after she was told never to apply for any opening with the department again because "She was not eligible" for any position there -- even though she held a doctorate in philosophy in communications, even though several of the males working for the department only had a bachelor's degree. The doctoral requirements had been traditionally waived for men in the department.

Everywoman possesses a certain satisfaction that after she filed the complaint, the chairman felt the department had better hire a woman too. They expanded the position to two slots, hiring the man they originally intended for the position; but they hired the woman also. Of course, Everywoman knew that in any case (and especially after filing a suit!), she would never get a job with the department. Everywoman might have even hurt herself in the profession. But, as a moral agent, she had to take action.

Everywoman had no choice but to pursue the matter, considering that in the past she and women co-workers on a newspaper had encountered an extreme case of discrimination. Something had changed within her because she had not stood up for herself and the other women with which she worked when she had the power to do so. It was not until years later, when Everywoman read the work of a contemporary philosopher, A.I. Melden, that she began to understand the full extent of the damage she had done to herself by allowing a moral wrong to be practiced against her and others without a protest.

Possessing Personhood

Melden said in Rights and Persons,[5] a philosophical work dedicated to his wife and daughters, that all persons possess the basic right of personhood, which implicitly carries an obligation to exercise moral authority: "[I]f there is a right that one has qua person it is logically impossible for anyone, oneself, or anyone else, to do anything that would deprive one of this moral possession without depriving one of one's status as person."[6] He said that "a wrongful denial of a moral right does moral damage -- period [emphasis added],"[7] whether it is the person who abnegates against him- or herself or if another person is allowed to practice the moral wrong without protest. Melden writes:

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[5] A.I. Melden, Rights and Persons (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977).

> One can submit to the maltreatment one receives at the hands of others, as animals do; but this is not to assert ourselves as persons. Such assertion of oneself as a person with rights may be irritating to others, and it may even be dangerous. But unless it takes some appropriate form by which it is made clear to those who have infringed [upon] our rights that an infringement has indeed occurred, that remedy is called for, and if wrongfully done, that guilt must be purged, one not only submits to the blows one receives from others but fails to maintain one's own integrity as a moral agent.[8]

With the moral authority of a person, as a being with rights, there is "the implied requirement of integrity imposed upon us, that we conduct ourselves with dignity and in ways appropriate to our status as beings with rights on terms of equality, qua moral agents, with others."[9] It stands thus that we are required to assert ourselves as persons by holding the transgressors accountable for those acts against us.

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[6] Melden, p. 167.

[7] Melden, p. 169.

[8] Melden, p. 173.

[9] Melden, p. 174.

This is how the incident occurred. First, to put all of this in context, Everywoman feels she must explain her training in journalism -- as she ever must explain it. Ten years ago Everywoman received the award for "Outstanding Senior in the News/Editorial Sequence" at an Appalachian University. She received the award from Marvin Stone, then-editor of U.S. News & World Reports, an earlier outstanding journalism graduate. For special recognition, Everywoman held the major Appalachian writing prize (the Jesse Stuart Award), a Gannett journalism internship, and a Reader's Digest Travel Grant to Plains, Georgia, during the Carter presidency.

After Everywoman graduated, she earned a masters in journalism. She then went to work with high hopes as a reporter and photographer on the city desk of a Kentucky daily newspaper on the Ottaway chain. It was a life-long dream fulfilled. Everywoman's grandmother had been a wheelchair stringer for The Kansas City Star and five small-town newspapers round and about Troy, Kansas, where she grandmother was confined to her home due to crippling arthritis. Everywoman's uncle had been business manager of The Coloradoan for years. Her family and Kansan William Allen White were her role models.

Everywoman had to leave the newspaper position, with great regret, because she could not afford to stay any longer. She was paid less than two-thirds the salary of the male reporter who was hired at the same time -- who, by the way, had only a mediocre academic record. Both he and Everywoman had three children at home but somehow he was perceived to be in more need of a higher salary. In title, Everywoman was the most fortunate of her female colleagues on the newspaper: she was the only woman reporter at newspaper actually classified as a reporter.

Through what Everywoman did best, investigative reporting, she had learned that all the women at the newspaper received much lower salaries for equal or comparable work. The rest of the women the newsroom were classified as clerks: they struggled along with half again (!) of what Everywoman made -- at $6,000 a year. The highest-paid woman manager, who had worked at the newspaper for more than a quarter of a century, made a salary comparable to that of a newly hired male news editor -- $25,000.

Also, Everywoman learned through the grapevine of women's dialogue that discrimination on the newspaper took other forms. For instance, when staff members married someone else at the newspaper, the female employee was immediately fired, while the male spouse was kept on. One particular sports editor was into his third on-the-job marriage.

The inevitable conclusion was that her position there was and ever would be a dead-end job. Several of her male colleagues mentioned the problems of keeping women on the newspaper, apparently without an inkling of the continuing discrimination or that women were talking about it to each other. The editor-in-chief told Everywoman he could not figure out why their best feature writer ever, a woman, had resigned to join a newspaper only a hundred miles away.

Everywoman procrastinated, putting off the inevitable decision because she so enjoyed working on the city desk. However, Thackeray had already proven the difficulty of living on next to "nothing a year," especially if you have children. She steeled herself, and finally went to the editor to negotiate for a higher salary, as least within the ball park of her male colleague, hired at the same time. Everywoman was certain of the rightness and reasonable of her request. She stressed to the editor-in-chief that she loved working for the newspaper. He talked about the wonderful job Everywoman was doing. She could budge him on words, but she could not budge him on salary. Management too was unresponsive to her pleadings.

Everywoman had fallen into that trap that women often do: somehow, she thought she would be perceived differently from her female colleagues, and therefore treated differently. In deep regret, Everywoman left the job she always wanted.

She knew at the time that she had the right to take the newspaper to task through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. She put roadblocks in her own way, the standard ones used by persons who fear that pursuing such a complaint will hurt their career. According to Melden's philosophy of the obligations of personhood, Everywoman had (by consent) injured her moral character, and was subject to all the ensuing repercussions: a sense of shame that she had not stood up for her rights after suffering injury by the newspaper's agents. A sense of guilt continued to pervade Everywoman's psyche.

A point of irony should be stated here: he who laughs last laughs best, no? A story and a photo Everywoman produced three days into working for the newspaper, about Colonel William C. Lambert, a World War I flying ace, was awarded a Mid-West writing award from the Aviators/Space Writers Association. It was the highest award ever given a reporter working for that newspaper. The Ottaway chain also showcased her humorous business analysis of Reagan's jelly bellys, in its national publication. The true irony, however, is that her male counterpart could afford to keep the job, while Everywoman had to give up what she wanted to do more than anything -- if she had the luxury. Everywoman certainly did not have the last laugh; her male colleague did.

There's only two ways to use a journalism degree in Appalachia: work for one of the several papers, or go back to school. In Everywoman's particular situation, the only recourse was to go back to school for a doctorate. Fortunately, one of the major journalism schools in the nation was within driving distance. To make all of that scholarly work more pleasurable she had the chance to work on a second writing masters with major Appalachian writers.

Everywoman told herself women must have more equal opportunity in academe than in newspaper work. She was soon disabused of this notion. Even though women do have more opportunity, it is not necessarily awarded equally. It is skewed by the same system of unequal rewards for equal work that pervade the newspaper profession.

However, college gave Everywoman what Paulo Friere has called a revolutionary tool -- "education." For with education, we walk through the thoughts of others across the centuries. This walk converges on pathways of self-discovery. We learn to question. We learn to form strategies for change, such as the subsequent ones herein to overcome those that deny gender discrimination.

Everywoman Speaks Out to Overcome Denial

All the required masters courses Everywoman took through the English Department at the university were about male writers and thinkers, except for a few isolated studies into those "neurotic, self-abnegating women Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton," who killed themselves. Women students complained among themselves that the highest grades were awarded to papers that reflected a certain perspective; i.e., papers that developed their troubled thoughts on the blood image of menstruation and self-mutilation. That is, neurotic and self-abnegating thoughts translated into higher rewards until one is driven to suicide.

In frustration, Everywoman pursued 30 hours of a women's studies certificate in addition to the masters so she could study about strong role models, women writers from her half of the human race. She learned about Christine de Pizan's The Book of *the City of Ladies*, written in 1405, which was an allegorical work similar to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, but which disappeared from public consumption in the banning of books during the time of medieval witch-burnings. The work of France's first women of letters reappeared in 1980, published by Persea Books.[10]

De Pizan was only one of a long list of women writers who had written about the moral awareness of women and about the rights of women. It never occurred to Everywoman that the women's studies certificate would later raise questions on her vita of serious scholarship. She could have never imagined a scenario were it would come up in context with the "F-word." Everywoman was more troubled that she could so easily recall phrases from Chaucer's and Shakespeare's works, but had *to reach* to remember phrases from de Pizan. Everywoman felt her birthright had been taken from her by academe. But she worried more about those who had never even heard about the birthright.

Anyone who has every attended the more advanced journalism schools knows the faculty are making great headway in mainstreaming women into their journalism curriculum. However, Everywoman was truly disappointed that major theory classes on journalism's philosophical beginnings were all about male thinkers. One professor even remarked to her choice of writing a paper on woman scholar, that Everywoman would have received a higher grade if she had written about "a serious subject" taken from the list of thinkers he had put together.

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[10] Christine de Pizan, translated by Earl Jeffrey Richards, forward by Marina Warner, *The Book of the City of Ladies* (New York: Persea Books, 1980).

The philosophy and historiography classes of her doctoral program were more of the same. At least there were no suicidal women to emulate. There were apparently no women thinkers at all to emulate.

All in all, Everywoman could frankly state that she only encountered one overt incidence of discrimination in her doctoral program. In fact, she was pulled up from the ranks to teach a graphics course to 50 graduate students during the professor's leave of absence. During her last year of doctoral courses, the then-business manager of the department signed her up to teach a course in reporting, which would also bring with it a continuing waiver in tuition. A week before the course was to begin, she was pulled out to make way for what one professor at the J-school called "the department's pretty boy," who will remain nameless. However, several faculty members, ever-responsive to the needs of all students, interceded to make sure Everywoman had funds to complete her program.

Everywoman had further problems to worry about, typical problems -- the kind previously alluded to that women talk about when men are not around because they feel men would not understand, would only get defensive. They are gender-specific problems.

Saying this, Everywoman further reveals her story, but it is every woman's story also. She also declares such touchy problems must not remain underground or they seem not to be there. If a problem is not visible, it does not exist.

As Everywoman entered her final doctoral quarter, her husband of 16 years panicked, withdrawing all emotional and economic support. Apparently, this is a common phenomenon among women who get doctorates: spouses for some reason feel abandoned. When their wives are right on the edge of success, of receiving the doctoral degree, they want their wives to quit. Still, she was determined to complete the degree -- with or without support. She did not know if she could operate without emotional support from her spouse. But she knew women often must.

In Everywoman's case, her eldest brother, of Pentecostal faith, had withdrawn emotional support seven years earlier, the day she entered college. His stated reason was that a married woman should be in subjection to her husband. Her brother's last letter to her said that college women were feminists who became communists that worked to split up the traditional American model of families. Everywoman had not bought into that one either.

Therefore, through the last few months of her doctoral period, Everywoman entered a woman's shelter, where she stayed until she could find a place to live. A neighbor got her children off to school on the weekdays. Her doctoral advisor helped her obtain a $5,000 student loan. Another journalism professor, who also came from a dual career family, actively sought money for her through Scripps Howard, based on Everywoman's research into women in journalism. Still another gave Everywoman two tickets to the journalism banquet, hoping -- no doubt -- that her husband would attend too. Unfortunately, she was unable to attend the awards luncheon to receive the $1,000 that came through from Scripps Howard because of a staff decision at the women's shelter. Women at the shelter were not allowed out after dark. Meanwhile, a few weeks later Everywoman joined her husband, who invited her to a university president's luncheon, where he was honored by 500 for graduating summa cum laud, one of the top ten students in business at Ohio University. The amazing fact is that he was the only top awardee from a regional campus, the first college graduate in his Appalachian family. Everywoman was also pleased and proud that two women made the top ten.

For three years, Everywoman had driven four hours a day -- out of an Appalachian hollow and across two counties -- to commute to the main campus at the regional university. She knew it would be tough for her and her family during those years with three of them in college (a son was also an honors student), but after that she would no doubt be able to find a position that would pay a respectable salary, in the same way her husband had. Everywoman is happy to say this did happen. Everywoman must also say that she learned to be more realistic; she began to understand problems plague the woman journalist in the same way problems plague women at any stage of their careers. These problems are often trivialized, often denied, but they are there.

Male journalists --men in the professions -- encounter problems too, but not along the same lines. They are also asked to be accountable by such people as A.I. Melden and women who are trying to get their foot in the door, to live and to grow and to succeed -- rather than the nobler gains of extending opportunity to all people, whether ethnic, gender-specific or class differences. It is just that the individual woman has this onus thrust upon her: each gain she makes as an individual must be, using an allegory, Everywoman's gain. If she has this onus thrust upon her, then she must speak for Everywoman. She must show that Everywoman wants to live, to grow to succeed. Everywoman is like the first in her family who has gone to college. All the family hopes go with her, and she cannot fail.

PART II: BEYOND THE ALLEGORY

Applying Gender-Reversal to Overcome Denial

Everywoman's dialogue has given the unspoken discrimination a number of popular names. One that seems to hang on is the image of "the glass ceiling" in the profession. The glass ceiling is sister to the secretary's "pink collar ghetto." Like male journalists, the women professionals see what is possible; they are lulled into believing that opportunity is equal for all. They are brought down by the realization that the professional models favor men, from cub reporter to full professor. Discrimination even sits in the classroom, in which there almost always seems to be one male student who tries to change the agenda of his female professor.

Here is a modest proposal. One not so far-reaching as killing all-male babies, but full of potential. I previously mentioned the frustration women feel in a college program that talks only about the learning of men. Men and women in college are like horses who wear blinders; they only study from the male perspective. Why not put on the blinders for the opposite effect? Urge men and women to study only the contributions of women for a year. If that is not possible, why not require men and women college students to take at least one course in women's studies in their basic curriculum?

If both men and women could study women, men would learn more about the dialogue of women. It would not continue to go underground to survive. Take the following idea, which has circulated for a number of years in the feminist underground. Certain feminists were troubled that the scale that measures potential to do a proscribed job is weighted in the male's favor in many ways. One is the rule that those in military service are given veteran's preference for defending their country. In the past, these privileged have almost always been men. It is questioned by feminists why women in family service are not given veteran's preference for raising the young.

The hidden dialogue of women asks why, if we value the rearing of children so much, we do not reward women who faithfully serve with the same kinds of incentives men receive as veterans who have faithfully served? Why must this home veteran be penalized for her service, ever behind the male candidate in a job, even if one is to consider the time of service alone? Why must this home veteran suffer the repercussions of subsistence retirement while the military veteran receives a nice pension?

The power to set the agenda is a mighty one. If women were in charge, the current agenda would no doubt discuss the necessity for rewarding mothers for service. Men would be participating in a hidden dialogue, wondering why military veterans are not rewarded for faithful service. I speak with intuition on both perspectives because of a mother and a father who worked for their country's survival during World War II.

My recently deceased father, who joined the U.S. Calvary in 1937, reputed for services with the Navy in 1941. His ship, the U.S.A.. Astoria, was sailing out of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. His ship eventually went down in Guadalcanal; he was in the water for 30 hours. Following the trauma of that action, he was washed out on a Section 8, being the one in five veterans affected by what subsequently become known as Vietnam complex. He found it difficult to hold a job for long. He found it impossible to maintain familial relationships. He descended into alcoholism.

My mother suffered from the type of complex resulting from the war, although she was never in military service. She worked in an aircraft factory during the war, putting together what they today call black boxes. While my father was in service, she worked full-time and at the same time was responsible for the upbringing of three children. When the war was over, there was a call by President Truman for "Rosie the Riveter" to go home so that the veterans could come back to their jobs. In the traditional male model, there was a male only too happy to get back to work outside the home and a female only too happy to get back to work inside the home.

My father, continuing to suffer from the G.I. complex, was unable to hold a job for long. On the other hand, he was quite taken with the management of the home. He had fought enough battles; he wanted to be in a more familial environment. But he was not allowed to stay there; men at that time were supposed to want more "manly" occupations. My father was shamed by other males into pursuing a job he did not want. He worked at a meat-cutting plant for a while, and shoveled manure in a stable -- because men do that sort of thing.

While my father had disability and pension benefits to fall-back on in his later life, there were no nets for my mother. Truman's sort of man could not see there might be a possibility that Rosie the Riveter might have to have a job, might even want to work outside the home. So my mother labored on a women's salary of waitress, which was 60 cents an hour, to keep the family afloat. There were countless like her. The need for a women's voice was never so strong as in the post-war period, but only the traditional male, GI-Joe perspective was heard.

If one accepts that media are only a reflection of culture -- if we are to expect change -- the dominant class cannot continue to be protected from life stories of women (and certain life stories of men), or from any adverse story (or idea) to its own way of thinking. Media must seek these stories out to form experiential philosophies. We can work from experiential philosophies to form greater truths. In this way, the can form innovative ideas to incorporate a women's dialogue that speaks with confidence, especially in the media.

Here is another modest proposal. One innovative approach would be to exercise a reversal of role-playing models. This is not a new idea. Males could imagine that they were women for awhile, and women imagine they were men. This would be a kind of sensitivity training. Men in the reversal of roles no doubt would at first find it difficult to withstand such onslaughts as a whole psychological construct based on vagina envy, in which they were said to want to be women. They might question whether it has to be true that their daughter was flawed for life, robbed of her womanhood, because her clinging father tied her to his apron strings. They might struggle against being chastised for possessing victim mentality because they are as a class raped and beat.

Women in the reversal of roles no doubt would not be able to resist the attraction of setting the agenda as the dominant culture, knowing they will be paid more because society has said they are smarter. They could not stand to discover they are flawed for life, robbed of sensitivity because as a class they are perceived as less sensitive. They could not stand to be chastised for possessing a criminal mentality because they as a class rape and beat others.

Role-playing and writing from the women's perspective are both viable options. The female protagonist, Farah Fawcett Majors, presented the women's perspective in "The Burning Bed," in which she was a battered woman who literally struck out against the system by striking a match. Majors played out a role reversal in a movie called "Extremities," in which she tortured a potential rapist in the same way he had tortured her. In "Extremities," Majors came very close to experiencing the same rage as the rapist.

Of course, the most dangerous type of person in the dominant culture, which just happens to be male, is the one who sits in an editorial office, drafting editorials about changing life for the better for his daughter -- someday -- not realizing the changes must be made today by him for his son and for his wife if tomorrow's dreams are to be fulfilled. He must be sensitized to the problem in order to make a commitment and to design a viable program for change. That is, the dominant culture, which has most of the options to set the agenda, must be the one to take the initiative. The powerful must help the powerless if we all are to develop a world that is made for the good of all.

If women and men will embrace thoughts proposed by women, or will take the initiative of exchanging roles, women and men will be able to find the strength to take and withstand criticism based on gender difference. Male philosophers might even be criticized for failing to be a father first. Mothers might even be criticized for failing to be philosophers first. Following the feminist model, the male could even be allowed to be more of a man than an adult in some cases while a woman can be more of an adult than a woman. The female belief that men should be held accountable for an equal formula of caretaking will not have to go underground, echoed in complaints in that second language of women.

Applying Feminist Theories to Overcome Denial

Unless dramatic action is taken by the dominant culture of today, the editor's wife and his daughter are and ever will be what Simon de Beauvoir called "The Other." The concept of "The Other" is based on the transcendence of the phallus; it is a constant that a person without a penis cannot measure up -- literally. De Beauvoir writes about "The Other":

> Whether she knows that she is or is not comparable with boys is secondary; the important thing is that, even if she is unaware of it, the absence of the penis prevents her from being conscious of herself as a sexual being. From this flows many consequences.[11]

Let's look at some of the consequences. An individual is always explained through ties with the past, and not in respect to the future to which aims are projected; this applies to both the woman and the man.[12] Woman is enticed by two modes of alienation under the choices of this hypothesis. She could decide that she will play at being a man, and be constantly frustrated. As de Beauvoir writes, there will be a masculine protest to her efforts. After all, a little girl climbs a tree to show her equality with boys, she does not climb trees because she likes to. Or, she could choose to become "The Other" and constantly be frustrated. She could create a parallel life where boys will climb trees because they want to, and girls definitely should not want to do that sort of thing.[13]

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[11] De Beauvoir, p. 54.

[12] De Beauvoir, p. 56-57.

De Beauvoir said women must somehow transcend both images and define for herself what she must be. And, this is what a female journalist must do if she is ever to be an editor-in-chief of a daily newspaper or a full professor in a credible journalism program. In any case, whichever route she takes, she is sure to feel alienated and frustrated.

Concerning "The Other," this is a starting point for Gilligan's In a Different Voice. She writes that there are two modes of describing the relationship between "the other and self." That is, the female in de Beauvoir's philosophical treatise is called "The Other." Gilligan aptly transposes the model; she proposes that man must be "The Other" in her psychological construct. It is a necessary refocusing that calls male thinkers to adjust themselves to the idea that woman's mode of solving moral problems just might be the dominant one because it is woven into the cycle of life -- recurring in people's judgments, fantasies and thoughts.[14]

Gilligan is definitely not an apologist. She suggests the possibility that we consider that man's voice might just as well be the deviant mode. If we are to allow for change, we must give full credence to this possibility. Gilligan writes that women voices are more distinct than the so-called "traditional" model developed and claimed by men as better, who are able to amplify their particular perspective through controlling many societal conduits, including the media. Gilligan maintains that the key to recognizing the problem is understanding that men's development is based on "the repeated exclusion of women from the critical theory-building studies of psychological research."[15] One can conclude that in the same way one judges women's theories to be "lesser" without examining them, one can just as well conclude that the theories are "superior" to male logic without examining them.

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[13] De Beauvoir, p. 57.

[14] Carol Gilligan, "Introduction" from In A Different Voice, p. 1.

In Gilligan's "Male as Other" interpretation, woman's place is first defined in the context of man's life cycle -- nurturer, caretake, and helpmate. Citing a 1976 study by Jean Baker Miller, Gilligan writes:

> [W]hile women have thus taken care of men, men, have, in their theories of psychological development, as in their economic arrangements, tended to assume or devalue that care. When the focus on individuation and individual achievement extended into adulthood and maturity is equated with personal autonomy, concern with relationships appears as a weakness of women rather than a human strength.[16]

In simple words, the male model does not allow women to be both women and adults. A sure and certain animosity is likely to arise when women attempt to depart from the role of caretaker in the male "otherness" model, to attempt to redefine themselves as adults with autonomy. This animosity is reflected in the M.I.T. professor's anecdote about Gilligan, in which he was insistent that workshop participants know that she had somehow failed in her personal role as caretaker. He focused on what he perceived as women's place rather than focusing on her ability to form a psychological theory.

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[15] Carol Gilligan, "Introduction" from In A Different Voice, p. 1.

[16] Carol Gilligan, "Woman's Place in Man's Life" from In A Different Voice; Gilligan cites Miller's Toward a New Psychology of Women (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), p. 17.

Applying Historical Analysis to Overcome Denial

Historical models show that change is slow to come. For instance, Ishbel Ross managed to gain some respect in the newsroom by somehow seeming to be "The Other" of the male model while setting her own agenda. But as interpreted in de Beauvoir's mode, Ross did feel alienated and frustrated. Ross measured up to the standards of her male colleagues by seeming to be one of the boys in competency while in other ways being thought of as a woman. She made her male colleagues believe that it was all right to be as good as any male journalist as long as a woman remembered "to act like a lady."

Frank Waters, who was a copy boy when she was a city-side reporter, said he recalls her as "a quiet, dignified, considerate woman with a high degree of competency."[17] George Cornish, a former co-worker at the Herald Tribune said she was uncomplaining

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[17] Memorandum from Frank Waters, to author (September 20, 1988).

"like a man," but he predicated that with a stereotypical comment about her femininity:

> Ask any man who worked with Ishbel Ross on the newspaper, he will have nothing but positive things to say. Ishbel was one of the first New York women reporters--perhaps the first--who was never confined to the 'women's angle' type of story. She was in appearance and manner extremely feminine, but on a story she asked no favors of anyone .[18]

This is true, because as we know, a man never asks favors of anyone.

Still a third co-worker, Walter Hamsher writes in the same vein. He said that one of the features of the city room in during Ross' time (the 1920s) were the telephone booths scattered around the city room, which was on the fifth floor, for the use of reporters in getting stories. Phones had not yet been installed at all the desks.[19] He said, that is when he first noticed Ross:

> Like all reporters, she did most of her work in getting stories on the phone. Maybe not most, but certainly much. Ishbel was an attractive woman, and all the males were happy to see her in the phone booth because there she would sit with her legs crossed showing very gorgeous silk stockinged legs. She seldom closed the door of the booth, so that when she was called to the phone to get a story, it was usually an occasion for many of the city room wolves to sit and stare.[20]

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[18] Letter from George Cornish, to author (from St. Petersburg, Florida, September 21, 1928).

[19] Letter from Walter Hamsher, to author (from 79 Shamrock Circle, Santa Rosa, California, August 31, 1988).

Ishbel Ross does not tell us if she stared at the legs of male reporters in the phone booths. However, while in the newsroom, Ishbel Ross certainly kept her opinions about the status of women reporters to herself.

After she left the Herald Tribune, she acknowledged the difficult struggle a woman goes through to be accepted in the newsroom. In Ladies of the Press, Ross writes caustically, "The women who have gone fartherest in journalism are not those who have yipped most loudly about their rights."[21] Here, she uses a comment you would have thought a male would have made to prove her point. Ross explains: "Peace at any price is the city room philosophy."[22]

Ross once told her friend, H. B. Fant, of the National Archives, "I have sometimes been at the Harvard Club for one thing or another, although in my reportial days no woman was allowed even to cross the threshold -- journalist or not."[23] This must have rankled her greatly because she also writes about the exclusion in Ladies of the Press:

> It is absurd to maintain that a woman can do everything a man can do on a paper. She can't get into the Lotus Club in New York, or cross the

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[20] Letter from Walter Hamsher, to author (from 79 Shamrock Circle, Santa Rosa, California, August 31, 1988).

[21] Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press; The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p. 9.

[22] Ross, Ladies p. 9.

[23] Ishbel Ross, letter to H.B. Fant (from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, April 8, 1969).

> Harvard Club threshold. She is denied the chummy barroom conferences of the politician, and cannot very well invade a Senator's room in Washington when he has no time to answer her questions except as he changes for dinner.[24]

Ross said the rule does not work so conclusively the other way. The only obstacle male reporters encountered were Eleanor Roosevelt's Monday morning conferences. Ross writes:

> The youths who are picked for the pink tea assignments are welcomed with joy at the woman's meeting. It is a sad reflection for the woman reporter who swears by her sex that the most pampered scribe at feminine gatherings is usually a man--and a man who would rather not be there.[25]

Men must want to overcome the prejudices that somehow maintain they cannot enjoy being with women, doing what women do in gatherings.

Ross maintains that the functions of the city staff are almost always interchangeable. She said:

> A woman may cover a subway wreck and a man do a fashion show on the same afternoon with excellent results in both cases. A good reporter can do telling work with almost any set of facts, short of relativity. He need not be a specialist. He need not even be initiated.[26]

Ross made these similar statements in the 1920s, 1930s and the late 1960s. It is an interesting side-note that reaffirms certain aspects of Gilligan's and de Beauvoir's "Otherness" theories, that the perception toward Ross by her colleagues in the journalism profession change when she left the Herald Tribune in 1933 to become a mother and an author. There is a sense of regret expressed by her male colleagues, but especially Stanley Walker, her former city editor. However, they focus on her decision to become an author, rather than her motherhood, to explain their perspective toward her leaving the newspaper -- as if motherhood is somehow a lesser choice.

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[24] Ross, Ladies, p. 9.

[25] Ross, Ladies, p. 10.

[26] Ross, Ladies, p. 10.

India McIntosh, who joined the Herald Tribune around the time Ishbel Ross left it, said she still fought to get the major story, even after 15 years on the newspaper. McIntosh noted that the male newsroom is fearful of women's emotional equipment; therefore, the women reporters cannot get the front-page stories. More likely, the male hierarchy fears woman because she is perceived to be the unknown factor except as defined by relationships with girlfriends, wives and lovers. Each of these categories are defined by a relationship with a male. None of these categories speak to capability in the newsroom.

The male reporter places himself in some kind of ego affirmation in which he perceives other males to be capable on the job only because he is capable. Privilege can be shared with those as capable as oneself to handle it. Since men have always "owned" the newsroom, they are the most capable in filling the columns on the front page.

As McIntosh writes, the woman reporter has the nigh on impossible job of proving she's capable -- by already being capable. Here's the typical story for the woman reporter:

> One the whole, the stories which she covers are one-day stands; they are tidy little episodes which can be packaged in three-quarters of a column and then forgotten. With hungry eyes, she watches the men reporters draw most of the running stories -- the big stories, with many facets, which splash page one for days or even weeks, surging to a climax or boiling over into a half a dozen stories or fading to a one-line head as imperceptibly as the Cheshire cat faded to a grin.[27]

McIntosh said, even though gains had been made: "The city desk is masculine; therefore, it harbors man's innate distrust of woman's emotions."[28] This is an example of how dominance redefines reality. It is just too coincidental that those who get the best assignments have a convenient justification for getting them.

Marion Marzolf, citing Ross, wrote in Up From the Footnote, that the woman journalist really has to be a paradox:

> She must be ruthless at work . . . gentle in private life . . . not too beguiling to dazzle the men and disrupt the work . . . comradely with the male reporters . . . able to take the noise and pressure and rough language of the city room without showing disapproval or breaking into tears under the strain of rough criticism.[29]

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[27] India McIntosh, Late City Edition (by Joseph G. Herzberg and members of the New York Herald Tribune staff; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), p. 4.

[28] India McIntosh, in Herzberg, p. 49.

[29] Marion Marzolf, biographical anecdotes on Ishbel Ross in "Sob Sister to War Correspondent" in Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House, 1977), p. 52.

Could a man withstand the same conflicting agenda: be ruthless, but not too beguiling; do not dazzle too much, and above all, show camaraderie toward the female employees? And if someone tells some sexist jokes that seem to insult his maleness, be sure not to take it personally?

No, things have not changed much since Ishbel Ross wrote in the 1920s that the woman journalist is handicapped by being the unwanted person in gatherings of men.[30] The woman journalist wears out her welcome by the very fact she is a woman. If she decides to become "The Other," she will be sent to features or the women's page, where she does the work "she is suited for." Erma Bombeck's humor column fits into this genre (speaking to problems of the housewife). Contrast this with Art Buchwald's humor; his column is perceived to be one of a political columnist who speaks to the problems of the whole of American society -- male and female.

If the woman journalist decides to become one of the boys, she will always be the step-child of the newsroom whose deviant capability must be explained: "She's a woman, but she can write as good as any man -- even though she writes from a women's perspective, of course. And, she does occasionally write women's pieces. But she never pushes that women's rights stuff on us." Ellen Goodman's work falls into this genre. Meanwhile, someone like James Reston speaks for both genders.

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[30] Ishbel Ross, letter to Marion Marzolf ((from 155 East Seventy-sixth Street, May 17, 1975).

Imagine women being defined wholly by males and you have the newsroom of the past. Imagine women being defined by males, the woman step-child and woman "The Other," and you have the newsroom of today. The hidden dialogue is not surfacing; it is transmogrifying into an ever more-elusive language of denial and evasion.

Being Accountable to Overcome Denial

Although the sexes are rarely identified per se in stories and columns, the phenomenon of men claiming dominance is perennially there. It's like telecasting a men's basketball team called the Lobos, and hearing it called the basketball team for the University of New Mexico, but never the Gentlemen Lobos. It's like seeing a women's basketball team, and hearing it called the Lady Lobos, but never the Lobos.

It's like seeing on CNN a mob of males in Iraq, waving signs about the "Great Satan." The voice-over says, "Thousands of people in Iraq take to the streets to protest America's presence in the Gulf, firing guns in the streets." No, not true. "Thousands of men in Iraq take to the streets." The women are at home, behind the chador.

Vice versa, in April 1990, media first described the Kurdish rebellion in male terms of soldiers. A more accurate coverage was the aged grandmother, stooping under a heavy shoulder pack, slipping and sliding on the muddy road over the mountain passes to Iran. A misnaming of actuality demonstrates the fact that women often wear veils that render them invisible in many ways and in many situations. They become mummeries in the same way the women of Shiite Islam beliefs become mummeries.

It takes a discerning person actively searching for discrimination to find all the cases because of it being rendered nearly invisible through the complicated process of denial. And, the filtered process of denial is so pervasive that no one can catch all the instances.

As Henry Truitt of The University of New Mexico told this researcher (February 22, 1991), the problem of discrimination has become very difficult to address because it is still rampant but has all but gone farther underground. He said that often an older woman candidate for a professorial position will be brought in for the interview, but she will never be told that her oldness and "womanness" is the reason she is not hired. Instead, she will be told that the job is not a match; that the journalism department is looking for someone with a different specialty. If she makes things tough for the search committee, they can always say they had to delay the search for a year because of limited funds. If that does not work, they can use the old bait-and-switch technique. Send her on her way to another "wonderful job opportunity" in another state. Truitt said the justifications are limited only by one's ability to invent reasons.

A woman applicant for a professorial post will, like others, be mailed a card to fill out, which asks her to identify her status by gender and race. A second agenda is also looming behind the questions. The cards are pulled out later for an accrediting team by the college or university to show that women were recruited for tenure-track positions. One or two of those women might be brought to campus for an interview. But most often, the male applicants brought to campus will greatly outnumber the women. And, most often, the male applicants are the only ones seriously considered for the job.

Universities like other institutions have learned the error of saying, "I did not like this candidate because she is a woman." Rather, she and everyone else will hear an agreed-upon story, sometimes not even consciously defined. Pick the most suitable response below, which should be easy, because even Jesus Christ was not perfect -- and he was not only the Son of God, but a man (!):

1) "She is not suited for this job because she does not do enough research."

2) "She is not suited for this job because she does not have enough experience."

3) "She is extraordinarily well suited for a job somewhere, but not here because . . .

4) "We could not fill this position with a woman because no one with the right qualifications applied for the position."

5) "We made every effort to bring a woman on board, including bringing one to campus who had fewer credentials; therefore, we bent over backward to hire a woman. No one can claim we have not done everything possible to overcome discrimination."

6) " . . . because and because and because . . . (add your own response here)."

In this way Title VII of the Civil Rights act is used by the potential employers for their own purposes. They can use the demographic cards to demonstrate that they have touched all bases to recruit women. After all, they put in their job ad in the AEJMC News: "Women and minorities are encouraged to apply." The woman journalist, unfortunately, cannot ask in her letter of application, "Do you want me to apply to make you look good, or is this statement a true reflection of a commitment to consider me a serious candidate for the job?"

That is why it is so hard to understand why the journalism profession, through the AEJMC, has waited so long to take the initiative to act upon discrimination in its own organizational structure. A quarter of a century after people marched on behalf of equality for women and minorities, the AEJMC finally moved to help women and minorities by granting full stature to the Commission on Status of Women and the Commission on Status of Minorities.

I believe that it's better late than never to take action. I tell myself that journalism as a profession does not make the news, it covers the news -- so it is therefore, a reactive profession. It just took AEJMC a lot of time to react.

However, I then tell myself that journalists are trained to be in-the-know about the First Amendment. Knowing how important freedom of expression is to the very existence of humanity, they should be the standard-bearers for all people. Journalists should be carrying the flag on the front line, not sneaking toward the front after the first major volleys are fired, holding a notion akin to the one that declares "God is on our side" because we journalists cannot have discriminated. The true state of affairs is that the war against discrimination is only beginning. The D-word is alive and well in the journalism profession.

Being Introspective to Overcome Denial

All through the hiring process the agenda of denial is often in effect. This denial is exercised especially by those departments who have hired one or two women because "their journalism program is democratic." As investigative reporter, I conducted a little research on this process of denial at the Portland AEJMC conference (1988).

One of the most popular aspects of that convention, as well as others, particularly for newly-minted doctors of philosophy in journalism and communication, is the Job Services Board. Interested job candidates are invited to send twelve copies of their curriculum vita to national headquarters. The vitae are collected and placed in notebooks. Each prospective applicant is assigned a number. Likewise, the universities conducting searches send in job descriptions, which are collected in notebooks. Each institution is also assigned a number.

A job board is erected at convention. Candidates look through the institutional notebook, then fill out a request to be interviewed by a college or university with the assigned number. The institution is only identified on the board through its number. This request is placed on the job board. For instance, a job applicant, who has been assigned No. 8, might fill out and pin to the board a color-coded request to be interviewed by an institution that has been assigned No. 34. The interview time is arranged by request.

In the same way, designates to the institutions hunt through the notebooks with the collected vitae. A recruiter from institution No. 34 will fill out and pin to the board a color-coded request to interview a prospective candidate who may have been assigned No. 8. The interview time is arranged by request.

In this case, it is a perfect match. Both the recruiter and the candidate evidently belong to a mutual admiration society. Who can argue the value of such a democratic process, which caters so specifically to the needs of both the interested employer and the prospective employee? It would seem to be the most democratic of processes.

Unfortunately, the reverse is the case. As I looked through the notebook of curriculum vitae, I noted a score of female candidates and about three times the number of male candidates. I specifically divided the assigned numbers by gender. That is, I noted which of the candidates' numbers represented female applicants and which represented male candidates. I then moved to the job board.

The numbers of female and male candidates requesting interviews with the institutions' representatives appeared with about equal frequency over a three-day period in direct proportion to the number of applicants. However, concerning the slips placed by the recruiters, one woman received recruitment requests from three institutions; a second woman received one. I saw no other requests from college and university recruiters to interview the rest of the female candidates. The board was literally snowed under with requests for interviews with the numbers representing male candidates.

Limitations of this informal study are that the candidates could not be identified by race to see if the same general trends are reflected. A racial bias could not be validated in any case by this method because name does not usually single out a person by race on the job board -- only by gender. I must say that it must have been tiring to some of the recruiters to have to take time to interview someone who was Black, but who could not be weeded out because his name was "John."

In 1989, after receiving my Ph.D. in communications, I actively sought a number of positions. Then the job board at the AEJMC convention took on an added significance. At the Washington and Minnesota (1990) conventions, I noted the same trend of choosing male candidates over female candidates (when numbers are held constant) in a ratio of about 50 times to one. With the results of the 1988 convention survey running through my mind, I was too frustrated to make specific counts at the latter two conventions, only noted general trends. For those who wonder why I wandered about the convention rooms in a blue funk, the cause is now fully revealed.

The AEJMC job board is not monitored by the federal government to see if women are being hired -- even when it is set up in a hotel down the street from The Capitol. Therefore, it is not necessary for institutions to go through to all those extra actions by which they pretend to consider women as fully qualified candidates.

This has been an invisible form of discrimination practiced overtly by many member institutions in the AEJMC. However, I suspect that from this time on, because the process of discrimination has been identified, institutions wanting to be thought of as nondiscriminatory will make every effort to interview women candidates through the "Job placement Board." Then, woman candidates interviewed at the convention will be caught up in the whole game that might or might not be saying, "We placed your number of the board because we are seriously considering you as a candidate."

Women Cannot Fight Denial By Themselves

As ennobling as it is, Everywoman does not have enough lifetimes to deal with all incidents of discrimination that fall in her path. I am reminded by Elizabeth Blackwell's persistence in which she was turned down by institution after institution -- year after year -- in her quest to be trained as a physician. Even after she gained her license, she was not allowed to practice because no one would have her. She had to establish her own infirmary in New York City to be able to realize her dreams of being a practicing physician.

Women today are likewise finding they have to establish their own businesses and professions, in order to be heard. Women, however, are finding it difficult to be entrepreneurs in the media because the start-up funds to launch a media organization are astronomical. Public access television does provide an alternate route to becoming visible. But to many women, public access inroads are a reminder of the real shortfalls they have across the whole of their lives in getting money to back effort.

In the long run, many are doing what Blackwell did. The battle for recognition in her profession turned into a prolonged campaign for women's rights. She had to turn her infirmary over to other women, which she had pulled up through the ranks. Blackwell went on the lecture circuit to raise the status of women across the professions.

Blackwell made it easier for women to succeed in ensuing generations, but not much easier, and destroyed her health while doing it. It took so many extra years to succeed at each step of her career: twice the number of years of a male candidate to go to medical school; that many times again to establish her own medical practice because she could not get into an established program. Her age and health caught up with her in the struggle.

Women who are journalists get so tired out having to prove themselves that they do not have the same amount of time as men have in the profession to show what they actually can do. Plus, through implicit consent, the male-dominated culture places the extra burden of child-rearing and family cohesiveness upon the woman. I have already discussed the extra bonuses that have been given to Veterans, who have almost overwhelmingly been male. That is only one example of a long list of unequal rewards.

If the premise of the job boards is an indication of what happen in the whole hiring process, it is no wonder that all women must be Elizabeth Blackwells. A time-line chart -- that is, a time-delay chart might be helpful in clarifying the problem.

* * *

HYPOTHETICAL TIME-DELAY CHART

Male:	Female:
Desire To Be A Journalist	Desire To Be A Journalist
1. Adolescence. Father is an worker outside of home, providing role model; therefore, pretty clear will work, be accepted in profession.	1. Adolescence. Mother is a housewife; therefore, girl agonizes whether she ought to be working outside home, or should perhaps delay aspirations beyond child-rearing years.
2. High School. Works on high school newspaper; prospects good for college, unless low income; plays football or basketball.	2. High School. Works on high school paper; prospects good for college, unless low income; cheerleader.
3. ACT/SAT Scores. Scores high on gender-specific tests; especially in science and math.	3. ACT/SAT Scores. Scores lower than males on gender-specific tests.
4. Military. Funding used for college, high option.	4. Military. Funding used for college, low option.

5. Scholarships More scholarships offered to males: more males come from from military; many have been awarded sports scholarships.	5. Scholarships. Fewer scholarships offered to females; fewer females from military; no sports scholarships for cheerleading, a few get in on fringe sports.
6. Curriculum. Study about male journalists and male perspectives almost almost universally. Taught mostly by males. System skewed toward male advancement.	6. Curriculum. Study male journalists and male perspectives almost universally. Taught mostly by males. Skewed against female advancement.
7. Marriage. Male is secondary caretaker or no caretaker at all for children; most males, little responsibility for taking care of household; female takes up slack.	7. Marriage. Primary caretaker or sole caretaker / children most females, much responsibility for taking care of household.
8. First Job. If children, considered needing employment; Veteran preferences almost always to men.	8. First Job. If children, considered a liability; often unemployable except for part-time or low-paying dead-end job; penalized for being wife and mother.
9. Promotion. Considered an analytical thinker because part of the old boy's club; service longer because little or no responsibilities as caretakers.	9. Promotion. Considered an emotional thinker because part of roles of wife and mother; professional service shorter.
10. Salary. Make a much higher salary because consistent career; military often adds years to years worked.	10. Salary. Make a lower salary, out of workforce while serving as wife, mother; or because forced to take low-paying jobs originally.
11. Advanced Degrees. More often awarded men, who have in a shorter time period been given military incentives, higher pay, better positions, and having been privileged to	11. Advanced Degrees. Less often awarded; it was much longer to completed the same career goals because of extra burden of child care and

be on fast track.	the built-in preference for males.
12. Professorial Posts. Go more often to men; because of longer service to prove self; doctoral requirements often waived because of long period of service on a magazine or newspaper; preference because male on larger and more reputable newspapers, more opportunities available.	12. Professorial Posts. Go less often to women; shorter service to prove self; doctoral agenda rarely waived because no woman can be a full-time mother, wife; full-time student; often have had to take any job she can get; often part-time; ironically often given longer hours, more classes to teach.
13. Research. The range is pretty wide open.	13. Research. Must avoid the "Scarlet Letter," "F" -- for feminist, topics about women.
14. Pension. Enough years usually to live on because salary can be up to editor or full professor; expected to succeed so given all the responsibility could handle during career, which resulted in higher salary.	14. Pension. Often substandard, because shorter career to work with; lower wage level to charge because of part-time and year-to-year status.
15. Recognition. Because of incentives that go with tenure and long career, able to do much research and community service -- whatever is required by job for good and faithful service; likelihood of getting "gold watch" or contributions being known beyond lifetime; might even get a journalism building named after him.	15. Recognition. Vice versa likely.

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The Necessity for Taking Direct Action

What can the AEJMC do as a whole to work for change? One option would be to conduct an ongoing effort that monitors the hiring, promotion and retention of women (as well as of minorities) at universities across the nation. The association could count numbers and discover trends, by seeking answers to questions based on gender analysis. The following are only a starter list of what needs to be discovered, for instance, in J-departments:

1) Who is working tenure track?
2) Who has tenure?
2) Who is put placed on permanent part-time status?
3) Who is on full-time renewable year-to-year status?
4) How do the range of salaries for male faculty members compare to the range of salaries for women faculty?
5) In what ways does the J-department work to mainstream a women's dialogue into the training of journalists?

It will be difficult indeed to design research instruments that measure the status quo in a profession that is so caught up in a process of denial toward gender discrimination. However, the task is not impossible for those dedicated to developing the human potential of all human beings. How will we know we are hearing the hidden dialogue as well as the one that is currently gender-dominant?

John Stuart Mill and Harriet Hardy Taylor Mill probably laid the groundwork best in the theory they developed on "controverting ideas." The hypothesis originated with Harriet, whose salon in the 1830s was called the political center of deliberations about tactics of radical activism in Parliament. She said that the strongest ideas are those that have been tested through the adversity of opposing viewpoints (get the paper to write in exact source). She developed the idea further in her Enfranchisement of Women,[31] a work that editors of her lifetime refused to believe that she had written. The editors maintained John, as a man empathetic to women's rights, was the ghost author of that work. Her book was published only after John agreed to write an dedicatory note.

After Harriet's death, John wrote a restatement of her Enfranchisement called The Subjection of Women.[32] The two works reflect gender-specific viewpoints. Harriet wrote of women's rights from the perspective of empowerment. John wrote of women's rights from the perspective of powerlessness.

The controverting of ideas is developed more fully by John Mill and/or Harriet Hardy in On Liberty. The author (or authors) or On Liberty wrote that "on every subject truth depends on a balance struck between two sets of conflicting reasons."[33] The essay further proposes:

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[31] Harriet Hardy, The Enfranchisement of Women, in Alice Rossi's, Essays on Sexual Equality (University of Chicago Press, 1969).

[32] John Stuart Mill, the Subjection of Women, in Alice Rossi's, Essays on Sexual Equality (University of Chicago Press, 1969).

> Nor is it enough that he [sic; a thinker] should hear the arguments of adversaries from his [her] own teachers, presented as they state them and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. That is not the way to do justice to the arguments or bring them into real contact with his [her] own mind. He [She] must be able to hear them from persons who actively believe them, who defend them in earnest and do their utmost for them. He must know them in their most plausible and persuasive forms; he [she] must feel the whole force of the difficulty which the true view of the subject has to encounter and dispose of; else he [she] will never really possess himself [herself] of the portion of truth which meets and removes that difficulty.[34]

A statement later on in the same essay clarifies the paradox of conflicting opinions: "Truth, in the practical concerns of life, is so much a question of reconciling and combining opposites."[35]

It is doubtful that On Liberty would have never been written without the contribution of Harriet's philosophical constructs. It is so easier to revert to the traditional male-dominated model. So easily, I myself could have slipped into the dominant vernacular here, by adding instead the following comment: "John could not have succeeded without the contribution of Harriet's love and support."

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[33] John Stuart Mill, On Liberty, in Mill and Liberalism, ed. Maurice Cowling (Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 153.

[34] On Liberty, p., 153.

[35] On Liberty, pp. 154, 164.

In the spirit of collaborative authorship, the AEJMC can encourage a collaborative research effort. AEJMC can arbitrarily and pro-actively set up a conference based on "The Year of the Woman Journalist," in which Everyman and Everywoman are invited to write a paper on women in the profession, under-reported news content on women, unresearched and under-researched issues; as well as the self-censorship women put themselves through. That is, AEJMC can do what its Commission on Status of Women has done for its Bill of Rights Bicentennial Project.

The need to present many viewpoints is one of the maxims of the journalistic profession. That background should help the profession overcome the denial of gender dominance. Our commitment to allow for opposing viewpoints also places the journalism profession in a unique position to act as the catalyst for change. The profession already understands the basis of the concept.

For true equality to be realized for all, there must be a corollary potential for abuse. Guarding against such abuses, as evidenced in discrimination, is to make sure that language of the dispossessed of society does not have to go underground to survive.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled, when we hear such complaints in some newsrooms that too many women are editors, while too many men are confined to the ranks of reporter.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled, when in some J-departments, chairwoman have replaced competent men with their favorite "pretty girls" -- and someone complains about it.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled for both the W-word (woman) and the M-word (man), when the F-word (feminism) is synonymous with the I-word (independence) -- and the D-word (of denial) is out of vogue.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled, when the words, "We the People," mean we the women and the men, Everywoman and Everyman -- and nobody says "Shut Up!"

The Writing Problems of Visual Thinkers

Gerald Grow, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Florida A&M University
Tallahassee, FL 32307

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A paper presented to the Qualitative Division, Association for Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication. Boston. August, 1991.

Some people write badly not from a lack of specific skills in grammar or composition, but from visual thinking inappropriately applied to writing. They write using a mode of thought that has worked for them in other ways, but the mismatch between visual thinking and writing produces certain characteristic, recurring writing problems.

A hypothesis grounded by examples, this idea is developed in relation to two existing lines of thought. It agrees with Shaughnessy's important insight in *Errors and Expectations*, that different writers arrive at the same error through different routes, and therefore need different kinds of help. It agrees in part with the orality-to-literacy shift described by Ong, Olson, and others; but where they find that many kinds of thinking and writing may be understood as residues of oral ways of thinking, this paper proposes that some may be better understood as byproducts of fully functional, well-developed visual thinking, misapplied to the writing of prose. The problematic relationship of visual and verbal thought may be much more central to contemporary journalism than the relation between oral culture and expository prose.

The possibility that visual thinkers learn in specific ways and have specific writing problems has important implications. More than ever, the communication industry needs well-trained visual thinkers. As Olson and others have argued, however, the public school system is highly verbal; students are rewarded, to a large degree, by their ability to write, and by their ability to think in ways that are developed through writing. Many visual thinkers never reach college; they are weeded out by the verbal bias of the educational system. The school system may be cutting us off from a vast talent pool--including minority talent--by not yet having learned to address the specific educational needs of visual thinkers.

The idea that visual thinkers have specific writing problems developed from years of practitioner experience as a writer, editor, publisher, and teacher of composition, literature, drama, and magazine journalism. It also developed from years of noting the language patterns of my artist wife, from keeping close company with our two children as they learned to speak, draw, write, and read, and from my experience as an amateur cartoonist. It was influenced by the unexpected ways my own methods of writing changed after I reluctantly converted from using a code-driven word processor (WordStar on CP/M) to using a Macintosh with its iconographic interface and ability to easily integrate visuals with prose.

To find out if this idea was plausible, I studied three dozen recent master's exams written (without editorial assistance) by interior design students—arguably visual thinkers by any definition. I also sought support for it in a collection of papers by college undergraduates in architecture. The work used in the sample comes from students were are *successful* in a visual field, but still had writing problems. What follows is technically a hypothesis, though I prefer to call it an interesting idea grounded in observation, overlaid onto several related theories, illustrated by examples, and filled out with wild guesses arranged to look like reasoned argument--in other words, a typical essay. I have not yet solved some of the problems with testing this hypothesis empirically (testing for visual thinkers engages several other levels of controversial theory), but the idea has enough implications for teachers of journalism and mass communication that I am offering it for others to try out on their own students. Most points in this paper are exploratory and tentative; to keep the style simple, however, I have argued them with few qualifiers. Please add "perhaps" as you read.

The concept presented here was developed in the context of a wide, eccentric range of readings and experiences, but I did not read Ong, Olson, or other proponents of the orality-to-literacy shift until after the paper was accepted (though their ideas were certainly "in the air"). After a reviewer convinced me that Ong's *Orality and Literacy* is central to the thinking of many in this field, I revised the paper to relate it to Ong's thought.

The writing problems of visual thinkers, as proposed in this paper, are summarized in Table 1. The following sections discuss how Table 1 was derived.

Table 1: The Writing Problems of Visual Thinkers

1. Naming imprecise or lacking. "The doohickey bollusked up my thingamajig." Broad, vague nouns and adjectives.
2. Words as labels for unseen pictures, labels for complex but unexplained thoughts. Effort to label large visual wholes at once, without analyzing them into their parts. Each verbal element seems to refer to more than it says; words have multiple or cryptic, rather than specific, meanings.
3. General fuzziness of language. Words imprecise. Connections unclear. Syntax slippery. Words don't seem real to the writer. Has a "You know what I mean" quality.
4. Words used in a a private and eccentric manner, like decor. When asked, writer might reply, "That's just what I use the word to mean."
5. Few active verbs. Passive voice. Unexplained appearances ("there is," etc.)
6. Imprecise verbs; overuse of "to be."
7. Effort to express thought as clustered, stacked, layered, enfolded.
8. Descriptions static; not arranged in dynamic sequence.
9. Weak transitions and connectives. Parts juxtaposed without being related. Reads like haiku or film script. "Dissolve," "jump cut," and "fade to black" would be appropriate transitions.
10. Undefined references: "He did it to them." Dangling modifiers.
11. Poor organization. Digressive. Gets lost in detail.
12. Weak narrative. No sense of conflict, drama, structure, buildup, climax. Stated, but not well argued. Unconvincing. Bland, even, one-level quality to prose. No main point. Reads like a list.
13. Contextless. No introduction. It is what it is; it is not defined by comparison with anything. Attempt to move visual into verbal through description or proclamation.
14. Aesthetic indiscrimination: all details are equally important.

I. Visual Thinking and the Lack of Words

Though the most widespread methods of teaching and testing emphasize the verbal, many activities of life and many kinds of learning take place without words. Cognitive researchers have verified this kind of learning; one can learn concepts without learning the names of the concepts or the names of their defining attributes (Klausmeier 1990). Indeed, some activities, perceptions and kinds of thinking may work better in the absence of words (Weschler's 1982 biography of American artist Robert Irwin is titled with a quote from Paul Valery: *Seeing is Forgetting the Name of the Thing One Sees).* Visual thinkers work in regions of the mind where words are not essential and may be intrusive (Franck, 1973). They often engage in activities which focus not on words but on such non-verbal values as line, color, texture, balance, proportion, aesthetic experience, and the manipulation of objects.

But in order for writing to take place, things must be named. Actions, relationships, and qualities must be named. Similarities and differences must be named. Words must call into being, corral, flush out, point to, or simply label the object of thought in order for it to be communicable in language.

As important as they are to writing, however, words often seem to lack the power to make meaningful and consistent discriminations for the visual thinker. Visual thinkers may use words in an imprecise sense for the simple reason that "words don't matter." The real thought is taking place in another dimension.[1]

> 1. The man known as the 'Genius' of architects is accredited with the destruction of the 'box' in architecture, and developed his structures to take on a living sense of their own. He did this in his designs by starting at the center core and let his room grow off it.
>
> 2. The designers and craftsmen of this period are also to be attributed with interjecting human comfort and scale as an important feature of the furnishings.
>
> 3. Since many people come from many parts of the world, the United States is compromised of many people from many nations. [The same writer later calls expulsion from a professional society "dismemberment".]

These errors are not characteristic of oral thinkers (Ong, 1982; Olson, 1977a). The problem here does not arise from the carryover of spoken language to written language. The very words themselves are sometimes too weak ever to have been spoken well. Something else is at work--something I interpret as a fundamental disconnection between language and thought.

In a characteristic that *is* shared with oral thinkers, visual thinkers often do not even name the things they talk and write about. They use vague terms like *it, this, that,* and *thing,* along with vague pronoun references--as in this example:

> I feel that it is up to the individual designer to decide which is the best direction for him to take. As far as its implications on the profession, it could be a good thing, in that a client may feel more confident in his designer choice for a particular job if he is specialized in that area. On the other hand, it could be negative if a client liked the work a designer did for him on a commercial job and wanted him to do a residential job and the designer refused. [Note that the last two *him*'s refer to different people. Almost nothing is specified: "up to the individual;" "the best direction;" its implications;" "a good thing;" "a particular job;" "could be." The passage points instead of naming.]

Slips of the tongue sometimes betray the visual thinker's tenuous relation to words. A Beetle Bailey cartoon recently parodied the power of the visual over the verbal for such people. To the increasing perplexity of his staff, General Half-track says, "Gentlemen, there are legs in our manuever plans. Several hips have developed. We must work on the hair before the launch date." Then the lieutenant gets up to close the door, through which the General can see the legs, hips, and hair of his pretty secretary (Walker, 1989). I have noticed visual thinkers, in the middle of a statement, inserting a word which names some object in the room their sight just happened to fall upon, like this conversation in a kitchen: "Yesterday when I was driving to school, the dishwasher overheated and I had to stop at a service station."

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[1] Examples come from the masters theses and student papers mentioned in the introduction.

In another conversational pattern I often observe, a visual thinkers stop in mid-sentence, stumped for a word: They can see it but not say it. Teachers used to accuse such students of not thinking. They are thinking, though; their thoughts just happen to arrive in visual, not verbal, form.

Absence of Analysis

The visual writer's lack of names indicates the absence of the complicated habit of analysis, comparison, valuation, organization, and selective perception that leads one to have words ready to name perceptions and express thoughts—a habit essential to good writing. The thought dates to Vygotsky in the 1920s:

> "The independent elements in a visual field are simultaneously perceived; in this sense, *visual perception is integral*. Speech, on the other hand, requires sequential processing. Each element is separately labeled and then connected in a sentence structure, *making speech essentially analytical."* (1978, p. 33, his italics)

Naming is an analytical process. We use words so naturally that this thought may not at first seem significant, but it is crucial. Prior to naming, a thinker must carry out a process of analyzing "things" into "component parts" and "relationships" so that distinct concepts exist which can be named. Further, naming requires commitment: To name something (in the sense that naming pulls with it the web of distinctions, connections, categories, and meanings that anchor that word to concepts and values) is to engage a particular theory of the world as context and to assert, in (or against) that context, the thing one names.

Every good writer builds and maintains a mental network in which every known word exists in relationship to similar terms, contrasting terms, homonyms, etymological roots, contexts of meaning, dialects, appropriate settings, etc., and where words are related by not only by shades of meaning but by rhythm, rhyme, and reference to history, literature, and experience--including non-verbal experience:

> "Semantic memory is the memory necessary for the use of language. It is a mental thesaurus, organized knowledge a person possess about words and other verbal symbols, their meaning and referents, about relations among them, and about rules, formulas, and algorithms for the manipulation of these symbols, concepts, and relations." Tulving (1972, pp. 385-386).

Such an "inner thesaurus" is one of the treasures of a good education; a group of people who share such knowledge can efficiently carry on complex communication by deftly alluding to one another's mental maps. The inner thesaurus can be created and maintained only by the verbal, analytic work of renewing its labels and relationships.

Drawing upon the rich, dynamic, intricately interlinked vocabulary that they have developed as their inner thesaurus, good writers choose words from a wealth of possibilities. By contrast, visual (and oral) thinkers often use a word as if they had no choice: It seems to be the only word available. Visual thinkers may use a word as if the word had no opposite, stood in contrast to nothing else, and had no shadings of meaning that differentiated it from similar words. At those times, the visual thinker's words have a prophetic quality; they seem to come directly from the mind of God and imply that if you don't understand them, the fault is your own. Lacking a sure sense of what words mean to other people, visual thinkers may use broad, vague words, or they may use common words in an arbitrary, eccentric manner, as if words were colors and they were creatively decorating a room. In this sense, they are more eccentric in word use than are oral thinkers, who gravitate to socially-shared meanings.[2] When asked about such usage, visual writers tend to say something like, "Oh, that's just what I use the word to mean," as if words, like colors, had no public meanings but could be freely redefined to express the private purposes of the author. Visual thinkers sometimes treat language like decor.

Words as Labels of Unseen Pictures

The words of visual thinkers often make more sense if you consider them not as the exposition of a verbal, logical idea, but as labels for unseen pictures. Through such labeling, visual thinkers try to convey, with a declaratory phrase, the large whole that constitutes the visual thought. To them, a visual thought accompanies the words, so the referent of the words is clear. At these moments, far from neglecting the power of words, visual thinkers demand that words carry more meaning than words possibly can. Such thinkers may use a few key words repeatedly, without elaboration, as if each word contained and powerfully expressed a complex thought in its entirety. The reader, though, sees only the words and does not have the writer's mental pictures that are necessary to convey the real meaning. To the reader or listener, the words sound cryptic. The best visual writers are mysterious and evocative; most are simply incomprehensible.

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[2] Ong's important summary of the characteristics of oral thought and expression appears in *Orality and Literacy*, chapter 3.

This characteristic of visual writers first came to my attention while I was editor for a group of educational researchers. One researcher wrote mysterious, cryptic reports that I could not edit because I could not understand them. When I talked to her, I found that, occasionally, a single cryptic word required expanding into as much as ten pages of prose before someone else could understand what she meant by it. Her prose contained words that were so "packed" that no one but she could see what they referred to. Her diagrams, by contrast, were intricate, complete, and helpful. After I recognized that those cryptic words were labels for her internal pictures, I could interview her, draw out her meaning, and complete the report myself.

As one example of a word used as a label for an unmentioned thought, consider the misuse of "it" in the following sentence:

> Open office systems have too many demonstrable advantages for any employee not to consider it favorably.

In this sentence, "it" could easily be considered a a simple error for "them," an error in number that fails to match the plural "systems" with its referent "it." After studying a few hundred pages of similar writings, I propose that this "it" refers to some unspoken, visualizable unit of thought that means "making the change to open office systems." Often, "simple" grammatical errors take on a different meaning when considered as products of misapplied visual thinking.

Fear of Words

Lack of words and lack of the analytical process which makes words available may not be merely a defect, it may be a deliberate achievement. Nonverbal thinkers of all sorts fear words, because words interfere with many nonverbal processes. Impinged upon by language, a visual thinker (or dancer or potter or painter) may feel like the caterpillar who could not walk for thinking about it. Words alone may not be the problem so much as words that trigger an invasive, colonizing analytical consciousness which imposes combative categories upon activities which function much better as unverbalized skills or feelings. Such thinkers fear the very states of mind Ong attributes to fully-developed literate thinking:

- "Writing... is a particularly preemptive and imperialist activity that tends to assimilate other things to itself." (Ong, 1982, p. 12).
- "Writing introduces division and alienation" (p. 179)
- "Moving into the exciting world of literacy means leaving behind much that is exciting and deeply loved in the earlier oral world" (p. 15).
- "The spoken word forms human beings into close-knit groups... Writing and print isolate" (p. 74).
- Writing separates the knower from the known (p. 105).

Given accounts like this, perhaps we should all fear the consequences of an institutionally enforced hyperliteracy that has not been "properly interiorized" so that it "does not degrade human life but on the contrary enhances it" (Ong 1982, p. 83; he does not elaborate on this potential degradation or how to avoid it). Persons whose natural nonverbal talents and worldly skills can be (and perhaps have been) "degraded" by improperly interiorized verbal, analytical thought have reason to fear having their minds "colonized" by the imbalanced form of literacy emphasized in schools. Such persons might include not only visual thinkers, but mothers, artists and craftspersons, kinesthetic male first-graders, inarticulate persons with highly developed interpersonal sensitivities, and others.

Many people prefer to deal with their crafts or relationships intuitively and do not like to talk about what they do. Similarly, students of many kinds may resist the full achievement of school literacy for fear of losing their preliterate selves--including a sense of innocent wholeness, connection with their culture of origin, pleasurable embodiment in immediate experience, and the simple ability to stop thinking. (Rodriguez, 1981, gives a moving account of the loss of personal and cultural identity due to education.) In order to gain the trust of such learners, teachers must be prepared to teach them how to keep from being enslaved by the specialized thought processes which (as Ong has vividly described) are so greatly empowered by writing.

This conclusion harks back to Arnheim's plea for an larger role for art in education (1969, p. 3) and goes against the dominant idea (implicit in both Ong and Olson) that students must give up the orality (or perceptual richness) of their home life and local culture to achieve the peculiar analytic isolation of high literate culture. Surely we should be seeking a way, after nearly 200 years of tightly logical expository prose (and nearly 2500 years of text-oriented thinking) of domesticating this resource in the service of human wholeness.

Stacking, Packing, and Enfolding Words

Because many elements can appear at once in visual thinking, the visual writer may try to make many elements occur at once in writing—trying to stack words, as it were, on top of each other, layering them, enfolding word within word, thought within thought, the way elements in a picture may be enfolded into one another. The orality-to-literacy model describes a movement from the oral thinker's referential language which depends on context, gesture, tone of voice, or visible objects to be understood, toward the "increasing explicitness" of written text, where, ideally, all the meaning is completely elaborated in words (Olson, 1977a, p. 258). The visual thinker, I propose, has a different reason for using unexplicit language than that attributed to the oral thinker.

The visual thinker may try to network words multidimensionally, as if a page of print had the capabilities of hypertext. Instead of specifying and defining the subject, the words of a visual thinker can radiate out into multiple meanings. Single words may overlap with several different thoughts, expressing none of them clearly. Such ambiguity does not arise from the absence of gesture or oral context; it arises as the writer tries to make words work with visual, not verbal, logic.

The result in both cases (oral and visual writers) is prose that requires interpretation; indeed, not even the writer has interpreted this prose. Such words arrive on the page like suitcases at the baggage claim: You know there is something in them and they have travelled far, but you cannot tell what the writer means. The words are filled with unstated meaning. They are (the term is Ricoeur's) "packed" and need unpacking.

Yet visual thinkers are accustomed to interpreting; the very act of visual perception, as Gregory (1966, 1970) and Gombrich (1959) have shown, is interpretive. When oral thinkers leave you to guess at something they have written, it is usually something that would have been obvious had the writing been a conversation. Such is not the case with visual thinkers; even in conversation, their words can be mysterious references to visual thoughts unseen by anyone but the thinker.

Writing done in this "packed" manner makes more sense when read as poetry than when read as prose. In a wonderful exercise, Couture (1986, p. 86) showed that such "elliptical" prose is easier to read when typed as free verse. In that form, the reader does not expect the prose to be fully "explicit" in spelling out its meanings. The reader expects to interpret, to make connections, to leap across gaps. But when elliptical prose represents itself as explicit prose, it fails to communicate. Students who write this way in college classes often fail in the assignment. Many who do are, I suspect, visual thinkers.

Difficulty with Description

One might expect visual thinkers to excel at description. The contrary is true. The descriptive writing of visual thinkers is especially static, unmoving, repetitive, and difficult to assimilate, precisely because the visual thinker does not "dramatize" description in the form a narrative, but "stacks" descriptive elements into a pile of details too large to keep in mind at once (the original point is from Lessing, 1766).

Readers can grasp only a few unrelated elements at once (psychologist George Miller made the famous claim that we can remember five, plus or minus two, unrelated items). But in a picture of a face, a multitude of separate elements can be expressed within a larger visual whole. Accomplished writers create comparable wholes—they call them "narratives," "stories," "theories," "logical progressions," or "organizing metaphors"— inside which a large number of distinct elements become comprehensible because they are related to a single, central concept. Visual thinkers need to learn to create such "writerly" unifying devices.

In some cases, the visual habit of thinking in multiple meanings—stacking—may cause the author to unintentionally fuse two words. Some of the resulting words would be quite creative if they were intentional. In what could be mistaken for an error in spelling, for example, one student author discussed how dimmers, timers, and light sensors can "illiminate" (eliminate + illuminate) the need for on and off switches. I heard another visual thinker speak of "affluential" lawyers (affluent + influential). Such "mistakes" suggest enfolded verbal thinking in which the words have not been extracted, made definite, and placed in sequential relationships. These people may be thinking clearly, but they are doing so with the help of words that have not yet been translated into expository statement. Again, the errors of visual thinkers diverge from the characteristics of oral thinkers.

II. Visual Thinking and Problems of Writing in Sequence

Sequence is of the utmost importance in verbal thought and writing: "Dog bites man" and "Man bites dog" are fundamentally different statements, altered by the sequence of presentation. In the visual expression of that thought, sequence is irrelevant, yet there can be no confusion about who bit whom: A picture can simply show it, and show it all at once. Visual thinking produces whole, patterned expressions such as maps, symbols, and pictures. Verbal activity leads to sequences such as narratives.

We have considered the possibility that visual thinkers, may produce certain writing problems because they do not have the deeply developed habit of using words, along with the analytical and organizational skills required to maintain a network of interrelated, named concepts--a mental thesaurus. The next section will explore how visual thinkers show certain characteristic writing problems that appear to derive from thinking in wholes rather than in sequences.

Difficulty with Transitions

Visual writers display difficulty in handling transitions and connectives. Because their primary mode of thought is spatial, visual thinkers lack the habit of relating one element precisely to the element that follows it. Juxtaposition—the jump-cut—is the visual thinker's normal mode of transition. In extreme, visual writing sounds like haiku: briefly-evoked scenes abut one another without explanation. One professor described the writing of his artist wife as "jumping from island to island, without travelling down the freeway bridge that connects them."

Verbal thinkers, by contrast, relate one sentence another through the use of connective terms like "on the other hand," "but," "accordingly," "previously," "in conclusion," "as a result," "notwithstanding," and so on. They have a sophisticated vocabulary of transitional words and phrases that specify the relationship between thoughts in the sequence. Verbal thinkers work hard to place their sentences so that relationships among thoughts are either made explicit or strongly implicit.

In writing, visual thinkers use fewer transitions, and use them less precisely, than verbal thinkers do.

> 1. A switch to an open office system also introduces a unique flexibility... This flexibility must be incorporated in considering the initial costs of switching to an open office environment. However, not only do you have the flexibility to reconfigure an existing space but consider a move to a larger space or to a new area of the country.
>
> *[Revision:]* Switching to an open office system is always one of several choices, all of which should be considered in figuring the costs of the switch. Not only could you choose to reconfigure an existing space, you could move to a larger space or even to a different city. In some cases, moving may be cheaper than reconfiguring.
>
> 2. Albeit my apprehension, the readings were surprisingly palatable...

In the preceding examples, "however" was used for "moreover" and "albeit" for "in spite of." The writer seemed to sense that some transition was called for but did not have even these fundamental transitional words ready at hand. The *thought* is coherent; the mode of expression, however, shows a weakness characteristic of visual thinkers who do not have a ready command of verbal transitions and connectives.

Visual thinkers may have another reason for their difficulty with transitions. If I have analyzed visual thinking meaningfully, the order of thought is often irrelevant: all elements take place at the same time, as they do in a map or a completed building. Indeed, the lack of specific order is a not a fault, it is a positive feature of visual thinking: You can take any path you want through a map, for example, and you can take different paths for different purposes.

In writing, however, sequence is essential. Thought unfolds over time, and many of the tools of syntax and vocabulary serve to control that sequence and interrelate the sequence of words, phrases, and sentences. To the visual thinker, sequence is individual, relatively unimportant, and subordinate to detail and pattern. By contrast, good writing gives a sense of guided discovery; by the time you reach a point, the author has prepared you to recognize it.

To a writer, sequence is as important as the order of dishes at a meal; a carelessly used transition could cause dessert to appear before the appetizer. In this analogy, a visual thought is like the menu: all possibilities are present at once--and none favored.

Overuse of to be

The visual writer's de-emphasis on sequence also leads to the overuse of verbs that merely juxtapose without arranging. And, since everything tends to happens at once and in present time to visual thinkers, they overuse the verb that suggests those qualities: "is." Visual thinkers tend to choose static verbs, the passive voice, and heavily depend on forms of the verb "to be."

> John Portman designed the Peachtree Center in Atlanta, Georgia. Portman's designs are noted for being in the downtown areas of cities, bringing revitalization to those areas. The Regency Hyatt House in Atlanta was a major development in hotel design. It was the prototype of future hotel design. In this design, Portman took into consideration the human factor and how people relate to their environment. The main features of the Regency Hyatt are: glass elevator cables, extensive use of art and foliage, a central atrium extending the height of the building, sidewalk cafe's, and a rooftop restaurant. These design features are seen today in other hotels by other designers.

The writing of a visual thinker is difficult to revise, because you have to make so many guesses about the exact meaning and the relationship between statements. But here is the way a verbal thinker might have written the above passage.

> *[Revision:]* With the Regency Hyatt, John Portman not only helped revitalize a decaying downtown, he set a new standard for hotel design. Designed for people and the way they relate to their environment, the Regency Hyatt looms around a soaring central atrium through which visitors ride in glass elevators—looking down at sidewalk cafes, fountains, works of art, walkways, balconies, and extensive foliage—up to the elegant revolving rooftop restaurant. The skylines of old downtowns around the country are now marked by hotels with these features, built by Portman and his imitators.

(Notice how the writerly passage tries to get around using a static list of features—by framing them as seen from a moving elevator.)

The visual thinker's overuse of "to be" leads to subject-heavy, verb-weak sentences in which long noun clauses (the rough equivalent of visualized objects -- what Vygotsky seems to mean by the term that is translated "predication") are loosely strung together with "is." The visual thinker replaces the dramatistic "who does what to whom" structure of the simple sentence with the visual "is...is...is..."

> How his quote relates while designing a space is that the space

> should be designed for people to enjoy, to prosper in or relax in.
>
> *[Revision:]* Portman emphasizes that the interior should be designed as a space where people can prosper, relax, or enjoy themselves.

Weak Narrative

A kind of "storytelling" animates the heart of good writing and perhaps, as Fisher (1977) has argued, the heart of all communication. Good writing is inherently narrative, and storytelling is the fundamental mode of oral communication (Ong, 1982, p. 140). In narrative, pieces of thought behave like characters in a story: they move, act, change direction, contrast to others, contradict, set up expectations and fulfill them, make claims, assert truths, argue, conflict, and resolve. Good writing is not "statements of fact" as much an unfolding drama of interactive statements that challenge and qualify one another, that expand, surprise, oppose, or confirm one another.

The first example below shows how a good writer dramatizes a point (sharpening it, interestingly enough, the way oral thinkers--with their "agonistic" tendencies--sharpen stories in telling them--Ong, 1982, p. 43ff). The second "flattens" the point as visual thinkers so often do; in it, the drama of heightened sequence is replaced by a limp string:

> 1. When the topic of licensing interior designers comes up, the architect bristles for fear that he won't be allowed to design interior spaces any longer. This simply isn't true.
>
> 2. The relationship between architects and designers is rapidly becoming more acceptable; once thought of as a threat to them, architects are now realizing designers are a valuable asset. [The misplaced modifier ("once thought of as a threat to them") further spreads out a conflict that begs to be sharpened, then resolved.]

Unlike oral thinkers, visual writers have difficulty converting their thoughts into narratives. They tend to string thoughts together without any particular order. One thought doesn't follow another or lead to anything; it just *is*. When they use connectives at all, visual writers (like oral thinkers in this respect) favor the "additive" connectives: *and, also, again, furthermore, another*, as well as connectives which do not explain how they connect (e.g., "I have already mentioned").[3] Unlike oral thnkers, visual thinkers often *list* features without taking a position, imposing an order, or presenting an action:

> Security is a design consideration not only in residential design for personal safety and property protection, or as generally thought of as in bank's security measures but must also be considered in relationship to every type of public space—malls, airports, parking lots, hospitals, etc.
>
> *[Revised:]* In any type of space, the designer must consider security. Security —personal safety and the protection of property—is clearly important in a bank, mall, airport, or hospital. It is just as important in a home.

In the habit of seeing everything as related to everything else in a continuously interacting gestalt, visual thinkers have special difficulty writing comparison and contrast:

> Specialization, in and of itself, is neither good or bad. In my opinion, it has both advantages and disadvantages. Some narrowing of possibilities, within the broad field of design, lies in the specific skills of the individual. Personally, I think I would make a lousy salesperson, it neither excites or interests me to attempt to persuade people into one product over another.

The passage starts as a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of specialization, but it abruptly jumps to an unrelated thought, then peters out. As in many of the examples cited in this paper, this one at first appears merely to be "bad writing." It might then be explained as a typical example of a student with "residual orality" failing to write "explicit prose." I am arguing that it also has specific characteristics that result when visual thinking is imposed onto expository prose. The teacher who recognizes this as not just "bad writing" but also as "visual writing" may (as we will discuss later) be led to a different strategy of remediation.

III. Problems of Context

A good writer establishes the context for what is to follow. In the current jargon of semiotics, a good text has *exigence:* "It must be relevant to the assimilated knowledge systems of the writer and reader in the shared context the text invokes" (Couture, 1986, p. 85). There are so many contexts in which to interpret experience that unless the writer directs the reader to a specific context, even the meaning of words may become uncertain. "Male" and "female" mean something quite different when referring to electrical plugs than when referring to the mating rituals of whales. (Bransford and Johnson, 1972, is a classic demonstration of interpretation by context.) But because visual thinkers can always "see" the context they have in mind, they tend to assume that everyone else can too. For the visual thinker, context comes with the thought-image in the form of its background and surroundings. Context and image appear together as integral elements of a whole thought—just as the foreground of a painting appears with its background as an integral whole.

In a visual thought, a thing does not gain its reality the way words do, by existing in a network of comparisons, contrasts, and shadings of meaning; it simply appears. It is what it is. Visual thinkers (and oral thinkers) assume that everybody knows the context they are referring to. As a result, visual thinkers show little regard for setting context, for comparing the present subject to something else that is known, for cueing the reader to activate relevant schemata or contexts for interpretation, or for other common methods of introducing topics. Phrases, like pictures, appear out of nowhere—full-blown and mysterious. Like children first learning to talk, visual thinkers expect you to know what context is built into their utterance. Visual thinkers may suddenly continue, without explanation, a conversation you last had a week ago, as if it was still going on; they may begin writing as if you were privy to their previous thoughts. The context in which they are speaking is clear to them; they know what they are referring to—surely you can see it too. When visual thinkers have writing problems, they tend to omit words that explain context and instead use terms that suggest sudden, unrelated, dreamlike appearances—terms like "there is," "it is," "one can see," "also," and the like.

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[3] Ong identifies this "additive rather than subordinative" use of language as a characteristic of orality (1982, p. 37), but here it is derived from the nature of visual thinking.

Many of the visual thinkers whose writings I examined did not introduce the topics they were writing about. They just started writing. Others seemed to recognize the need to write an introduction, to establish a context, but did not seem to know how:

> What is a Western point of view towards ethics? How about Eastern views? Are there differences, similarities? A good topic to discuss further is how interrelated the two might be... [Incidentally, notice the verbs: is, are, and be.

Forest and Trees

Visual thinkers seem to have unusual difficulty writing so that readers can see both the forest and the trees--main points and supporting details. Two tendencies pull them in opposite directions. On the one hand, visual thinkers have a natural love of detail: Looking at a tree, they may be drawn to the patterns of shadows cast by the tiniest hairs on the veins of the leaves. Seeing so much, visual thinkers get lost in aesthetic detail—a tendency I suspect is exaggerated by most artistic training. On the other hand, visual thinkers think in wholes. They love visual orderliness, balance, and proportion. Indeed, if Silverman (1989) is correct, visual thinkers have a cognitive *need* to see the big picture.

Good writing requires a balance between generalization and specific detail, local color and overall meaning, forest and trees. Why do visual thinkers have difficulty finding the right balance? In particular, given their disposition to gestalts, why do visual thinkers have difficulty organizing prose?

Visual thinkers may have difficulty selecting the right kind of details in their writing because they tend toward what I can only think to call "aesthetic indiscrimination." Verbal thinkers constantly analyze, compare, relate, and evaluate. Good writing is fundamentally biased—biased toward a particular point. In writing, the elements of thought are not equal. Most thoughts are subordinate to other thoughts and all are subordinate to a single overriding theme (or purpose). Well-organized prose does not suddenly happen at the typewriter; it is the end result of a long process of analytical perception. Good expository prose grows from a subtle analysis which ranks details so they can be ordered in support of a central theme. To repeat a point shared by Vygotsky, Ong, and others writing about literacy, expository writing is based on a thought process that is, at heart, analytical.

But everything can seem oddly equal to a visual thinker. Every detail matters equally, no detail is irrelevant. Visual thinkers tend to approach life with what what Manfred Clynes called "apreene"—a state of perceptual openness in which they "trust that whatever may come into awareness is worthy to be well received and even treasured" (quoted in Curtiss, 1987, p. 218).

Perhaps this receptive, nonevaluative attitude is a byproduct of the brainwave state required for producing vivid visualizations, so that visual thinkers thus gravitate toward a state of consciousness inimicable to the precise use of words. Techniques for inducing more vivid visualization often emphasize such receptivity (e.g., the deep relaxation used in Autogenic Training). Unfortunately (as far as writing is concerned), visual thinkers tend either to become immersed in a flood of ever-changing details of texture, color, and form, or they space into a wholeness in which everything is intensely real but "there are no words for it." Visual thinkers, inclined to consider each element of perception, thought, or writing equal to all others, tend to produce static, digressive prose that lies passively on the page and offers the reader little direction or help.

Visual thinkers have difficulty organizing expository prose, then, because their preferred mode of thought is even more fundamentally different from the organization of expository prose than oral thinking is. Compared with the auditory reality of orality, Ong describes writing as spatial. But compared with visual gestalts, expository writing is organized in time, not in space. Spatial organization derives from elements such as outline, color, texture, proportion, and balance. Prose is organized by story, focus, sequence, drama, and analysis—none of which are native to the country inhabited by a visual thinker. The writing of a visual thinker is like a map of all the possibilities; a verbal thinker writes like a guided tour.

IV. Discussion

Shaughnessy. This paper has proposed that certain writing problems arise when visual thinking is applied to writing. But to anyone who has taught writing, all of the problems identified by this approach sound like the familiar problems of "basic writers." What difference, then, does the present theory make? First of all, misapplied visual thinking could be the cause of the writing problems of many students. Shaughnessy (1977) cites a number of examples of errors that sound very much like what I have analyzed as the byproducts of visual thinking.

> "For reasons that are not always clear, or the same, writers at this basic level often fail to name the object or person or idea they are writing about... This evasion of the subject entangles the writer in passive constructions or inverted patterns—*it is, there is*, etc... Subjects tend to be vaguely named: a method of teaching is labeled *this idea*, controversial issues are called *certain things*, or independent study is referred to as *this way*... But the favorite word is *thing*, the all-purpose noun that parallels the all-purpose *that* of syntax or the all-purpose *comma* of punctuation. No noun comes so easily or covers such a range of "things." (199)

These features might be attributed to "oral" thinking as well, but other errors seem too inward for orality. In another place, Shaughnessy describes a problematic passage as having "the quality of a writer's inner, pre-verbalized thought, not yet shaped for communication" (232). A number of the errors she attributes to "basic writers" could have their roots in preverbal, visual thinking. This leads us to the important possibility that, even though visual thinkers show the same writing problems as other basic writers, they arrive at those problems through a different route and may need to be taught in a different way.

Orality, Literacy, and Visual Thinking. This paper has implications for a second approach to the teaching of writing--the orality-to-literacy model. Some of the central characteristics of "orality" appear in the student writings quoted in this paper, but they are explained instead as characteristics of visual thinking. "Preliterate" thinking may thus not be as intensively oral (sound-derived) as Ong and others insist. Visual, synesthetic, and other forms of non-verbal thought may well account for some of the features attributed to preliterate orality. Furthermore, visual thinking can continue in force after the acquisition of full literacy as a parallel mode of mind and may not be assimilated by literacy--as orality is thought to be.

Visual thinkers, as described in this paper, have several tendencies opposed to those Ong and others attribute to oral thinkers. Because words are secondary to their thinking, the language of visual thinkers may be more private and eccentric than the communal language of orality. Because their primary thought processes are non-sequential, I have proposed that visual thinkers have difficulty with the dominant mode of oral thinkers: narration. And, throughout his analysis, Ong (after McLuhan, I believe) considers the visual to be severely analytical, in contrast to a more holistic concept of visual thinking argued here (cf. Franck, 1973; Jackson, 1975; McKim, 1972).

This paper differs in another respect from the orality-to-literacy model. Visual thinkers are not necessarily orally competent; some speak poorly and only when required to. Even in a primary oral culture, there may have been inarticulate people; such was certainly the case in my grandfather's time. I have argued that it is important to consider visual thinking as a modality separate from orality. In addition, anyone tempted to adapt the orality-to-literacy transition to visual thinkers should read Brandt (1990) for her critique of that approach.

Implications for Research. The theory offered in this paper is a first step toward improving the teaching of writing to visual thinkers—and perhaps to musical, kinesthetic, personal, and interpersonal thinkers as well—to use Gardner's (1985) categories. If the concept in this paper is validated by studies of the writings of visual thinkers, it directs us to improve writing by working with the underlying thought processes, rather than with the mechanics of grammar and prose.

How to teach visual thinkers to write better remains to be determined, though recent research on the teaching of reading and thinking suggest places to start looking. In particular, the following seem to me to open important doors: Dixon's remarkable book, *The Spatial Child;* Silverman's (1989) account of the visual-spatial learner; John-Steiner's (1987) study of creative thinking in several modalities, including visual; Clarke's (1990) graphic approach to teaching thinking; Sinatra's (1986) writing exercises based on visual literacy; Gardner's (1985) description of multiple intelligences; the revolutionary work by Lakoff (1988) and Johnson (1987) grounding linguistic thinking in metaphors developed from bodily experience, which may overthrow the first principle of modern lingustics--that signs and semiotic systems are arbitrary--and legitimize nonverbal activities in the teaching of writing; recent advances in the teaching of reading, such as instruction in cognitive processes and learning strategies (Derry, 1988/9; Derry, 1990; Jones & Idol, 1990; Jones, 1986); research on the visual representation of ideas (Jones, 1988/9; Armbruster & Anderson, 1984; commercial seminars by Information Mapping, Inc.); the importance of schemata in text and in readers' understanding (Anderson, 1984); and metacognitive cues which signal readers on how to interpret.and organize what is being written (Vande Kopple, 1985). Studies of the interrelation among different modes of thought--what Stacks and Andersen (1989) called "intra-personal communication"--may also provide valuable resources for writing improvement, especially if this helps maintain the integrity of nonverbal experience in the face of literacy's power. Non-verbal thinkers may be more emotionally and kinesthetically oriented than verbal thinkers; for them, drama may provide a fruitful link between experience and exposition.

Research is needed on how to integrate students with strong visual abilities but weak writing abilities into the college curriculum. Stories from the adult literacy movement show that some individuals can attain high positions without being able to read or write; perhaps some students with visual gifts should be forgiven the requirement of learning to write "college prose." Special integrative programs may be required which pool students with complementary skills the way those skills are combined on the job--for example, the way editors work with art directors on publications.

A study could be made of visual thinkers who write well. How have they bridged the gap between visualizing and writing? Do they visualize and then transform the visual images into prose? Do they use frequent illustrations? How do they sequence their writing? If they have had and overcome the difficulties this paper posits, they may have valuable ideas for helping other visual thinkers write better.

Research on visual thinkers is hampered by the lack of a simple, reliable test for identifying them. Silverman, Dixon, and Truch identify visual thinkers by analyzing the relations among subtests from the Wechsler IQ battery; both the administration and interpretation of the subtests require expert judgment. I thought for a while that a spatial rotations test would suffice (Wheatley, 1978), but while it seems to identify analytical visual thinkers (such as mathematicians and architects), aesthetically oriented visual thinkers do not necessarily do well on it. To label someone a visual thinker still requires a judgment call. Yet the label is meaningful to teachers of graphic arts, graphic design, architecture, interior design, publication design, and other forms of visual communication.

Varieties of Visual Thinking. In this study, visual thinking has been limited mainly to "static imagery," a limitation not acceptable in more advanced studies of "spatial ability" (Brown & Wheatley, 1990). Nonetheless, some limitation was necessary in order to narrow the field of visual thinking to manageable proportions for a first paper. Other forms of visual thinking (e.g., transforming an image, chaining images in cartoon fashion, or imagining a continuous sequence of moving images) may have a different effect on the dynamics of writing.

Varieties of Writing. The "writing" considered in this paper is the kind most college teachers would consider desirable (Olson, 1977a); but perhaps such highly organized, logically-sequenced expository prose should be looked upon as an unusual and highly specialized form of human expression. (One wag called expository writing an unnatural act committed by consenting adults.) Certainly, stories are more universal than research papers, and disorganized, illogical writing is more common than logical, organized writing. Illustrated writing may be more "natural" than writing in words alone.

Perhaps visual thinkers need to learn not to "write" (in Olson's sense of "text"-- logical, fully-elaborated, expository sequences made exclusively of words), but to "communicate" through mixed media. The dominant concept of writing—based on the typographically traditional book format--has been severely challenged by easy interplay between graphics and text that can be found in any well-designed magazine. In page-layout software, text can be divided into segments that can be typographically differentiated and arranged into sidebars, boxes, tables, pull-quotes, and the like. In hypertext, prose can be organized in a multidimensional non-linear structure. Perhaps writing has been made unnecessarily difficult by the traditional assumption that writers should write in a one-dimensional sequence and produce a document composed exclusively of words. Perhaps, on the other hand, it is precisely and only such writing that develops in people the capacity for sustained logical thought. As technology changes the form of publications, we should ask what is being lost.

Visual thinkers might learn to write better if they abandoned the words-only typewriter format and composed their thoughts directly onto page-layout programs in which the visual presentation of the material is, from the beginning, an essential part of its meaning. On the other hand, so many aspects of good writing seem to arise when words are forced to substitute for all other forms of communication (such as gesture, tone of voice, and pictures) that, to develop the right mental muscles, good writers may have to wrestle naked with the naked word. The strength of this engagement could be diluted, not helped, by graphics and layout. Learning to write better might even be influenced (as Halio, 1990, suggested) by whether one uses a computer with a graphic interface (such as a Macintosh) or a computer with a verbal interface (such as PCs before Windows).

Verbal Bias of Schooling. This paper arose from a concern with the fate of students who have a gift for visual thinking. The context for this concern is the existing educational system with its bias toward verbal performance and the kind of thinking that results in analytical, expository prose. Some of the writing problems of visual thinkers are a byproduct of this narrow educational emphasis. It is like requiring everyone, regardless of body type, to lift 150-lb. weights in order to graduate. Unfortunately, even the literate bias of schooling (to use Olson's phrase, 1977b) does not necessarily produce good writers and there is reason to be concerned that many of our future students, visual thinkers or not, will write as poorly as the students cited in this paper. Some students are pre-literate not due to any special gift but due to the influence of television and the lack of effective education. Others, impelled by an inner talent for visual thinking, approach writing from a different perspective. And if proponents of visual literacy like Sinatra are correct, real visual thinkers will not respond to the kind of writing drill that helps underdeveloped verbal thinkers. Both groups, however, will benefit from learning the importance, specific skills, and hard work of communicating, in whatever modality.

Incomplete findings. Even though it yielded enough confirmation to ground this paper in observation, the pilot study did not find clear examples of every aspect of the guiding idea. Some of this may be due to the sample, which was mostly drawn from graduate students, who must already have considerable skill in writing or they would not have good enough grades to be admitted. Some of the writing problems predicted by this paper may show up only in writers who are more exclusively visual thinkers and have little practice in verbal thinking. Such subjects might be found among art students and elementary school students.

Verbal Thought Reconsidered. Many of the problems discussed in this paper derive from an approach to education which is based on a theory of the nature of verbal thought. Perhaps the nature of verbal thought itself needs to be revisited. In current research, Vygotsky's (1962) concept of compressed inner speech has largely (but not entirely) replaced the earlier empiricist/behaviorist view of thought as subvocal speech behavior. In Vygotsky's view, chidren first speak in compressed language, which is elaborated in conversation with their parents. Through such conversations, they learn to think in elaborated prose. Later, they codify this elaborated prose into compressed inner thought which uses short labels to express larger units. Speaking or writing, thereafter, begins with "elliptical inner thought," which is "elaborated" into the vocabulary and structures suitable for speaking or for writing. Some of Vygotsky's descriptions of inner thought are clearly descriptions of visual thinking. Visual thinking, then, may play an integral part in the organizing and relating of complex wholes of predominantly verbal thought (as it also does in Rico, 1983).

There is also a quite different possibility. The success of subliminal audio tapes suggests that the mind may have the ability to think in complete syntactical units at enormous rates of speed, and even in several simultaneous channels. One recent experiment suggests that the mind may be able to think a burst of a thousand words as rapidly as it can produce a picture: Korba (1986) estimated that people can think at the equivalent of 4,000 words per minute. (It is not clear whether this is fully elaborated verbal thinking at high speed or a compressed mode of thinking, perhaps visual, which is capable of being expanded into words.) It is my growing conviction that people engage in high-speed, multichanneled fully-verbalized thinking, as well as in simultaneous "multitasking" in nonverbal modalities. Such a concept challenges current ideas about the limitations of "linear" thought and could revolutionize our idea of where writing starts. Current models tend to set visual and verbal thinking against one another, but visual and verbal thinking may be far more intertwined. Such a concept could revive interest in ideas that rarely appear in current research agendas--such as intuition and the creative unconscious.

Conclusion. The entire field of modern communications needs strong visual thinkers, but this crucial talent pool is at risk. Students of high visual ability but low expertise in writing may produce the kind of writing that makes them sound like incompetent thinkers, rather than like people who are excellent in a mode of non-verbal thinking. Unless such students are identified as having the writing problems of visual thinkers, they may never receive instruction sufficiently matched to their mode of thought that they can learn to write well enough to enter college and graduate in journalism, graphic design, or related fields. It is possible, of course, that there is some optimum approach to the teaching of writing that will work equally well for all writers. But I doubt that. It is more likely that what we learn while trying to teach visual thinkers will help us teach all kinds of writers better.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to David Butler of The Florida State University School of Design and Larry Peterson of the Florida A&M University School of Architecture for supplying examples of the writings of visual thinkers. To my wife, Christl, for being the visual thinker in residence. To the anonymous AEJMC reviewer for suggesting that I relate this idea to Ong.

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American Communication Researchers Respond to Raymond Williams

By Bonnie Brennen

Ph.D. Candidate
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Iowa
205 Communication Center
Iowa City, IA 52242
(319) 335-5836

Prepared for the Qualitative Studies Division
AEJMC National Convention, Boston, Aug. 7-10, 1991

> *Our words must refer to our experiences if we are to know where of we speak and they must evoke the experiences of our peers if we are to be understood. — Restatement of Platonic credo, John Smith 1660.*

INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested that Raymond Williams may be the most influential cultural theorist of twentieth century England. Williams, whose work directs attention to "what is silenced by the dominant cultural and political discourses," (O'Connor 1989, vii) has been identified as "the most important representative of the English Marxist tradition" (Merrill 1978-9, 9). Working outside mainstream communication research agendas, it is said Williams "built, virtually single-handed, the foundations for the distinctive tradition of British Media and Cultural Studies" (Garnham 1988, 23). His book *Culture and Society*, is generally considered one of the three founding texts of British Cultural Studies.[1]

While Williams' reputation in England seems secure, his impact on communication research in the United States may not be as clear. In his 1977 review essay of *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, Lawrence Grossberg acknowledges Williams' important contribution to understanding the role of communication in contemporary society, yet he suggests that outside of England, Williams work has not been understood or seriously studied by students of communication. Consequently, Grossberg concludes that, as of 1977, Williams work, had "little impact" on American communication research (Grossberg 1977, 339). Grossberg, who finds the significance of *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* in the "structure of the interpretation, in its final bridging of the gap between theory and practice" hopes that this text will bring Williams to the attention of American communication researchers and validate him as "the leading Marxist proponent of an interpretive approach to the study of communication" (Grossberg 1977, 358).

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[1] The other two texts are E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, and Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy*. However, some researchers also include a fourth text, Williams' *The Long Revolution*.

In his forthcoming book *Critical Communication Studies: Essays on Communication, History, and Theory in America*, Hanno Hardt suggests Williams' writings currently attract considerable attention from American communication researchers, and are "compelling sources for helping to emphasize the importance of culture in the study of communication." Hardt suggests however, that attention to Williams work "is accompanied by a benign neglect of its theoretical and ideological aspects" (Hardt 1990, 204).

The Social Science Citation Index and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index offer a useful starting place for an inquiry into the response, by communication researchers, to Williams' ideas. Thousands of citations, which reference Williams, are found following the release of *Television: Technology and Cultural Form.*[2] Researchers from a diversity of disciplines including communication, political science, sociology, philosophy, history, psychology, education, anthropology, English, economics, geography, feminist studies, environmental planning, gerontology, and sports history have incorporated his concepts.

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[2] Garfield ranked Williams, with 1,068 references, among the 101 most-cited twentieth-century authors in the Arts and Humanities Citation Index from 1976-1983 (Garfield 1986).

Yet an analysis of citations can only serve as a quantitative measure; it is not however, necessarily an indication of how Williams' concepts have been received. Researchers utilize ideas in a variety of ways; some ideas are mentioned and refuted and serve as evidence of an incorrect premise, theory, or concept. Other scholars appropriate concepts, or specific portions of them that are easily understood and adapted in an empirical manner, without consideration of the theoretical and ideological context of these ideas. Finally, some researchers incorporate concepts, fully aware of the context from which these ideas originate.

This paper seeks to understand how Williams' concepts have been received and incorporated by American communication researchers. It follows Grossberg's assumption that until the release of *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, Williams' work was not addressed by American communication scholars, and focuses on how specific concepts and their underlying theoretical context have been utilized in mainstream American communication research.

Three journals, *Journalism Quarterly*, *Journal of Communication*, and *Critical Studies in Mass Communication,* were chosen as representative examples of American communication research; they also contain the majority of communication articles which cite *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* between 1975 and 1990. A total of twenty-four articles were found: eight appeared in the *Journal of Communication*, fifteen were published in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, and one was found in *Journalism Quarterly*. In addition, both the *Journal of*

Communication and *Journalism Quarterly* published reviews of *Television: Technology and Cultural Form.*[3]

Articles in these journals have been analyzed in an attempt to discover how Williams' concepts have been utilized by communication researchers in the United States. More specifically, this paper questions whether they have been understood within their original ideological presentation (as an argument against technological determinism) and whether there is evidence (as Hardt suggests) of a decontextualization of Williams' theoretical framework. It examines the ways researchers have incorporated, critiqued, and dismissed his concepts; realizing that there is no "correct" way to utilize an idea, this paper suggests however, that an understanding of the theoretical and ideological foundations of a concept can help to clarify its meaning and usage.

THE ROLE OF IDEAS

This paper attempts to trace and understand the role of ideas and their dissemination in a given society, in the tradition of intellectual history. Ideas as important historical agents are not "to be subsumed under economic, psychological, or other categories lying beyond them" (Veysey 1979, 5). Ideas are considered in their historical context, as they are used by individuals to give meaning to their existence; they are important by themselves and also for the reactions that they cause. Ideas are not only "maps of problematic social reality;" they are also considered as "matrices for the creation of collective conscience" through which they affect and influence behavior (Wood 1979, 35). Williams suggests that ideas can be considered

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[3] Although this study is limited to articles which specifically cite *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, there are other indicators of the appropriation of Williams' concepts, that might be interesting to examine. Consider the following two titles of articles, that did not cite Williams but were found in the *Journal of Communication* during this period: "Global TV Flow: Another Look" (26 no. 3: 69) and "The Changing Flow of Television" (27 no. 2: 139).

> forms of isolation and identification of more general processes...At every point we need to put these ideas to the historical realities: at times to be confirmed, at times denied. But also, as we see the whole process, we need to put the historical realities to the ideas, for at times these express, not only in disguise and displacement but in effective mediation or in offered and sometimes effective transcendence, human interests and purposes for which there is no other immediately available vocabulary (Williams 1973b, 291).

In order to deepen an understanding of specific concepts it is helpful to consider both the definitional, as well as the interpretive meanings of ideas. For instance, Kenneth Burke differentiates between the semantic and the poetic meanings of words. To Burke, the semantic meaning, which can be seen as equivalent to its scientific meaning, is analytic by nature and aims at clarifying things by placing them into "distinct and exclusive categories" (Gusfield 1989, 12). For Burke the goal of semantic meaning is "to evolve a vocabulary that gives the name and address of every event in the universe" (Burke 1941, 141). Poetic meaning, on the other hand, delves deeper and considers the variety of meanings that a given word, concept, or act might have. These meanings can vary considerably, however, they all contain emotional values and attitudes. Semantic meanings attempt to remove emotional factors that could "complicate the objective clarity of meaning." Poetic meanings attempt to collect as many emotional factors as possible and to pit them against each other in an effort to "make this active participation itself a major ingredient of the vision" (Burke 1941, 148).

Since Williams' concepts have a European context it may be helpful to question the transformation of ideas when these concepts are appropriated by American researchers. In other words, can concepts be universal in nature and allow usage and adaptation within other cultures? Or are ideas culture specific, and must be significantly altered before they can be appropriated by researchers in other societies? H. Stuart Hughes suggests that the "sea change" of European social thought, from 1930-1965, which widened the audience, and altered the tone and vocabulary of these concepts, did not significantly develop American thought as much as one might have imagined. Individual émigrés are found to have incorporated the best of American and European thought, yet Hughes finds it "difficult to detect how and where the émigré generation had surpassed the generation of their intellectual fathers' (Hughes 1975, 270).[4]

It is the premise of this paper that the majority of Williams' ideas are universal in nature and need not be significantly changed before usage by American researchers. While thematically, much of his work reflects his Welsh origins, his concepts however, are not culture specific, but instead address universal humanistic considerations. Williams' writings liberate previously marginalized thought; while his ideas transcend race, class, gender, and cultural boundaries. They are adaptable to American communication research, and can offer researchers a useful alternative, especially when understood within Williams' theoretical and ideological framework. This paper will first consider Williams' conceptual foundations and will then explore how specific concepts have been utilized by American communication researchers.

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[4] For further discussion of the migration of European ideas see Hughes (1961, and 1968).

LIFE AS A PROCESS

Williams builds on the idea of life as a process. Nothing is static, fixed, or predetermined; all of life is an active and evolving process. This concept of process is found throughout all of his writings and permeates every experience, idea, and thought. The term "process" is never used to indicate a singular thing or act because he sees the concept to represent a multiplicity of actions.

Fundamental to Williams is a belief that each person literally creates his or her own world. Reality, as individuals experience it, "is in this sense a human creation," and therefore all experience becomes a "human version of the world we inhabit" (Williams 1961, 18). There is no reality found by merely opening one's eyes; human beings must learn to see the world and to create their own reality. Sensory information received by the brain must be interpreted before it can be understood. This information is interpreted following specific human "rules of seeing;" these rules are learned through "inheritance and culture," are culture specific, and serve as the foundation of each society's "ordinary reality" (Williams 1961, 18).

The "rules of seeing" are not fixed entities, they are, instead, a changing, evolving process. Individuals modify and extend cultural rules, which in turn creates a different sense of reality. Williams' view of reality does not, however, fall into the post-modern abyss where no reality can be found apart from individual creation. It is, instead, a position of multiple constructions of reality. Technological forms are seen to exist apart from an individuals creation of them. But differing realities are created as these forms are interpreted in varied ways according to culture specific rules.

Williams suggests that his position differs radically from the majority of individuals (scholars and the general public alike), who assume that reality is "an ordinary everyday kind of perception," where the products of these perceptions exist as "things in themselves as they really are." For most, reality is thought to exist in the form of concrete entities, which are knowable and can be shared with other individuals (Williams 1961, 16). As he explains, many people tend to assume "that there is, first, reality, and then, second, communication about it" (Williams 1962/1969, 19).

To Williams, the process of perception, where people learn to see things by learning to describe them, is "neither arbitrary nor abstract," but is instead "a central and necessary vital function" through which individuals attempt to understand and live within the environment (Williams 1961, 23). This function relates seeing to communication in a fundamental way, where communication begins in the attempt to learn to describe:

> The struggle to learn, to describe, to understand, to educate, is a central and necessary part of our humanity. This struggle is not begun, at second hand, after reality has occurred. It is, in itself, a major way in which reality is continually formed and changed. What we call society is not only a network of political and economic arrangements, but also a process of learning and communication (Williams 1962/1969, 19).

Communication is defined by Williams as the "process of transmission and reception," through which "ideas, information, and attitudes are transmitted and received" (Williams 1962/1969, 17). These ideas are transmitted through language, "a distinctively human opening of and opening to the world," in the form of certain communication rules, models and conventions (Williams 1977/1988, 24). Communication is also a practice, and as a practice it is an integral part of culture that must be addressed in any consideration of society (Williams 1974, 20). He urges the analysis of society as a "form of communication through which experience is described, shared, modified, and preserved" (Williams 1962/1969, 18).

Communication is fundamental to Williams along with culture, whose centrality is emphasized in all of his writings. In *Keywords*, he explains that the word culture is one of two or three of the most complicated terms in the English language (Williams 1983, 87). He outlines three main categories of usage : 1) to describe "a general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development;" 2) to indicate "a particular way of life," of "a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general;" and 3) to describe "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity" (Williams 1983, 90). Williams primarily incorporates the second definition of culture in his writings; he does not use the term to define an object or a thing but rather to indicate a way of life. Culture is the entire "social process" through which individuals define and shape their lives (Williams 1977/1988, 108). Culture is ordinary, because it is found "in every society and in every mind" (Williams 1989, 4).

Williams finds that the terms culture and society can be used interchangeably; however he prefers the word culture. For him, society connotes something static whereas the word culture can be seen, more easily as a process of "a total human order" (Williams 1981, 154). As a process, culture identifies areas of common inquiry rather than describing one ultimate conclusion. Williams cautions scholars that the conclusions of society are as diverse as the number of starting points (Williams 1958, 313).

IDEOLOGY

Current media studies frequently focus on questions of ideology. In *Marxism and Literature* Williams outlines three common definitions of ideology found in Marxist texts. The term is used to refer to:

> (i) a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group;
>
> (ii) a system of illusory beliefs -- false ideas or false consciousness -- which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge;
>
> (iii) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas (Williams 1977/1988, 55).

However, he questions if any of these usages of ideology are "sufficiently precise and practicable" to include the products of the cultural process (such as art and literature) in ways that do not reduce, abstract, or assimilate these practices (Williams 1977/1988, 71). Finding the concept of ideology problematic, he instead emphasizes structure of feeling and hegemony, two concepts which more fully consider products of the cultural process.

Structure of feeling is an important concept which underlies much of Williams' early contributions, particularly his writings on drama (see Williams 1952/1987, and 1970/1987). It is, in one sense, the culture of a period, which corresponds to the dominant social character; it is also an expression of the interaction between other non-dominant groups (Williams 1961, 63). It is an active process which involves "relationships, institutions, and formations." He uses structure of feeling to explain:

> the undeniable experience of the present: not only the temporal present, the realization of this and this instant, but the specificity of present being, the inalienable physical, within which we may indeed discern and acknowledge institutions, formations, positions, but not always as fixed products, defining products (Williams 1977/1988, 128).

It differs from world-view or ideology in that these terms indicate a more formal, fixed form, unlike structure of feeling, which exists as developing, evolving forms. Williams uses structures of feeling to describe:

> characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity (Williams 1977/1988 132).

In his later theoretical writings, Williams replaces the notion of structure of feeling with the concept of hegemony. He restructures Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony -- the domination of a ruling class through ideology, through the shaping of popular consent -- to include "not only the articulate upper level of ideology" but to incorporate "a whole body of practices and expectations" which "constitutes a sense of reality for most people in society" (Williams 1973a, 9).

Williams views hegemony, not as a singular, static concept, but rather as an active dynamic process which extends beyond culture and ideology in its "insistence on relating the 'whole social process' to specific distributions of power and influence" (Williams 1977/ 1988, 108). As Todd Gitlin suggests, hegemony unites the persuasion from above with the consent of those individuals below as it operates through "a complex web of social activities and institutional procedures. Hegemony is done by the dominant and collaborated in by the dominated." It enters all facets of daily life, it frames work, leisure time, and interpersonal relationships; it impacts creative energies, thoughts, beliefs, and desires. "In every sphere of social activity, it meshes with the 'common sense' through which people make the world seem intelligible; it tries to become that common sense" (Gitlin 1980, 10). To Williams, hegemonic forces deeply saturate the consciousness of society, as a highly complex combination of internal structures that must be continually renewed, recreated, and defended. These structures are continually challenged and somewhat modified by emergent oppositional forces (Williams 1973a, 8-9).

A crucial factor one must consider, in any analysis of Williams' ideas, is that he works "with a concept of social totality in process." This notion of social totality is quite specific and is directed at "the analysis of capitalism as a distinctive social formation" (Garnham 1988, 124). Utilizing historical materialism as an approach, he views capitalist development as a historical process which involves unequal relations of power.

Williams rejects an orthodox Marxist position, questioning the validity of the base (infrastructure) in determining the political and ideological elements of the superstructure. He sees the base and superstructure, not as fixed separate properties, but instead as a social process which connects "material production, political and cultural institutions and activity, and consciousness" (Williams 1977/1988, 80). Williams explains that viewing the base and superstructure as analytic categories they become

> substantive descriptions, which take habitual priority over the whole social process to which, as analytic categories, they are attempting to speak. Orthodox analysts began to think of 'the base' and 'the superstructure' as if they were separable concrete entities. In doing so they lost sight of the very processes -- not abstract relations but constitutive processes -- which should have been the special function of historical materialism to emphasize (Williams 1977/1988, 80-81).

Stuart Hall suggests that frequently Williams "carries on a submerged, almost 'silent' dialogue with alternative positions," through which he constructs an argument against vulgar materialism and economic determinism (Hall 1980, 60). His theory of cultural materialism, which considers the "specificities of material cultural and literary production within historical materialism" grows out of this interpretation of Marxist thought (Williams 1977/1988, 5). He emphasizes that until it is understood that "cultural practices are forms of material production," it is impossible to consider them "in their real social relations" (Williams 1981, 353).

CULTURAL DETERMINISM

Television: Technology and Cultural Form is primarily an argument against technological determinism and symptomatic technology, two views which begin from the assumption that "television has altered our world," and underlie the overwhelming majority opinion on the effects of television (Williams 1975, 13). Technological determinism suggests that new technologies set the conditions for social change and progress; these technologies are seen to have made the modern individual and our modern society. Symptomatic technology, on the other hand, emphasizes other causal factors in social change. In it technologies are symptoms of change as a by-product of a social process that is otherwise determined. Williams suggests, however, that both of these views abstract technology from society. Each view depends on the isolation of technology, either as a self-acting force which creates new ways of life, or which provides materials for new ways of life (Williams 1975, 14).

Technological determinism substitutes random autonomy of invention or an abstract human essence for real social, political, and economic intention. To Williams, determinism is not a single force or a single abstraction of forces but is instead a process involving real determining factors which include the distribution of power and capital, social and physical inheritance, and relations between groups. These are hegemonic factors which set limits and exert pressures, yet never completely control the process and the outcome. "The reality of determination is the setting of limits and the exertion of pressures, within which variable social practices are profoundly affected but never necessarily controlled" (Williams 1975, 130).

Instead of abstracting the technology from the social order, Williams suggests that technology should be analyzed as a part of a particular culture. Intention must be restored to the process of research and development. The technology must be seen to have been developed with certain purposes and practices in mind that are not by-products but are instead direct intentions of social needs, purposes, and practices to which the technology is central rather than marginal. Garnham suggests that Williams' concern with the purposes and practices -- which he views as a process of the capitalist mode of production -- results in his interest and respect for cultural workers, even when he criticizes the social effects and products their labor produced (Garnham 1988, 125). Williams maintains that we must view technology as an intention and an effect of a particular culture (Williams 1975, 128).

However, he finds that most studies of mass communication only consider who says what, how, to whom, and with what effect. These inquiries leave out the question of intention and therefore exclude the social and cultural process. In any analysis of technology, it is important to remember that the intentions that must be examined will differ from the declared intentions, assumed and indifferent general social processes. The effects-studies of violence on television are cited by Williams as one example. In these studies, violence is assumed by researchers as unacceptable social behavior. This assumption may be confusing, because so much violence is shown on television in a society that may be currently involved in a violent military action. Therefore, one must ask, in what sense is the violence shown on television a breach of the socialization process? In this case, Williams suggests, the real norm that should be considered, is not that violence is unacceptable social behavior, but rather that "unauthorized violence is impermissible" (Williams 1975, 123).

The concept of television as flow, found in *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, grows out of Williams' definition of broadcasting as a technology and a cultural form. He differentiates between a "technical invention" and "technology," although these terms, he suggests, are often used by scholars interchangeably. Technical invention is the development or invention of a skill or of one of its devices. Technology, on the other hand, is the knowledge that is necessary for the development of skills in addition to the knowledge and conditions necessary for the practical utilization of these devices (Williams 1990, 173). In this "new" technology, television programs are offered in a "sequence," i.e., in a combination of shows within a theme that tends to flow together.

> What is being offered is not, in older terms, a programme of discrete units with particular insertions, but a planned flow, in which the true series is not the published sequence of programme items but this sequence transformed by the inclusion of another kind of sequence, so that these sequences together compose the real flow, the real 'broadcasting' (Williams 1975, 90).

To Williams an analysis of television flow must consider the general programming, the items that are within the published sequence of units, and a detailed flow of words and images. Such an analysis can expose cultural relationships and a reigning ideology.

How have American communication researchers responded to specific concepts in *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*? They are found to utilize Williams' ideas in three main ways: 1) to produce an opposing position, which is discussed and rejected as incorrect; 2) to help support research-specific arguments without considering the theoretical and/or ideological framework; and 3) to substantiate theoretical positions, mindful of the implications of the work by Williams.

CONCEPTS DISMISSED

The work of Liebes and Newcomb specifically takes issue with Williams' concept of flow. Liebes equates the notion of flow with a type of background noise, where nothing can be distinguished individually. In an examination of viewers retelling an episode of the television show "Dallas," he suggests "that certain programs such as news and 'best sellers' are actively viewed as individual programs and not just as 'flow'" (Liebes 1988, 277).

Newcomb finds the concept of flow confusing and limiting to communication researchers. He considers it not applicable to the "ordinary viewer," who makes selections, changes channels, and recreates the television viewing experience. In this "dialogic" view of communication, the viewer is an active participant who accepts, rejects, and modifies what is offered (Newcomb 1984, 147). This emphasis on television programming as text focuses entirely on the viewer, denying the texts existence apart from an audience. Therefore, flow does not exist without an audience. However, while the viewer can make choices while watching the programming, it is important to remember that, to Williams, the flow still exists independent of whether it is watched by an individual viewer or not.

DECONTEXTUALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

The utilization of Williams to help support specific arguments resulted in an appropriation of ideas without consideration of the theoretical and/or ideological basis. The majority of the reported research in this study fits into this category. In some cases scholars attempt to incorporate one idea or a portion of one idea as a model for empirical studies.

The concept of flow is one example of this usage, although it is one small aspect of *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, it is an idea that a variety of researchers have adapted. For instance the work by Budd, Craig and Steinman (1983) focuses on a one-hour segment of the television program "Fantasy Island," and is designed to show that American television exists as a sales agent for the commodity culture. Commercials and story themes complement each other; both are said to reinforce dominant cultural practices and beliefs. These researchers utilize Williams' concept of flow, which they correctly define its as an examination of the relations between "a sequence of programs and commercials, spanning several hours, which are planned by networks and seen but not thought of by viewers as a unit" (Budd, Craig, Steinman 1983, 73).

This study, however, analyzes only a single one-hour television show, rather than an entire evening's programming. Thus, the flow analysis is limited to thematic concerns, which appear rather superficial; also their form of the study varies considerably from Williams' analysis of three British and two American television stations. Their analysis is based on the following format:

> Flow 1.
> Program: Mother's concern for child's happiness.
> Commercial: Life cereal makes children happy.
>
> Flow 2
> Program: Mother perceives a problem (narrative disequilibrium).
> Commercial: Itching solved by Caldecort salve (Budd, Craig, Steinman, 1983, 72).

In contrast,*Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, explains the different ways of considering the notion of flow. The initial analysis is a "long-range consideration of sequence and flow," which addresses the entire broadcast of a particular evening's programming. The next step is a "medium-range analysis of flow and sequence," which examines the flow of the "succession of items within and between the published sequence of units." This portion of the analysis moves beyond abstract titles and categories or listings and can show the "process of relative unification into a flow of otherwise diverse or at best loosely related items." Finally, a "close-range analysis of flow" is a detailed textual analysis of the flow of the "actual succession of words and images" (Williams 1975, 96).

Williams suggests connections of flow can be made in obvious and less obvious ways. For example, the flow of hurried items in a news report can establish a sense of the world, of surprising and miscellaneous events coming in from all sides (Williams 1975, 116). Indications of the flow of meanings and values of two specific cultures, England and the United

States, are found by Williams in his close analysis of the three levels of flow and sequence.

Barker's study of "Hill Street Blues" is another example of a single television program analysis, where flow is used as an easily adaptable model. Barker finds television to confront viewers with a collection of segmented texts that work to form a cumulative text. "Hill Street Blues" is thought to extend the idea of a segmented but cumulative text even further through its "interweaving of numerous plot lines and their often elliptic closure" (Barker 1988, 49). Barker, as well as Budd, Craig, and Steinman incorporate a portion of the semantic meaning of flow in their research rather than utilize of a complete understanding of the implications and poetic meanings of the concept.

Barton and Gregg, and Gray also consider flow as a model in their respective work; however, their usage of the idea is at least more consistent with Williams' meaning. For instance, in an analysis of the flow of CBS news coverage of the 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Barton and Gregg found that through the interaction of organic and conventional news forms, "two dominant, mutually supporting patterns of meaning -- prediction and affirmation of network authority" are found to emerge (Barton and Gregg 1982, 172). Gray's examination of fictional and nonfictional representations of Black Americans on television suggests that representations of contemporary Black life "cannot be read in isolation" but should instead be seen in relation to other television texts (Gray 1989, 378).

Others like Jhally and Livant, and Gumpert and Cathcart use Williams to support radically different research agendas, which abstract the technology from the particular culture.

In their critical-materialist analysis of television, Jhally and Livant argue that television, as a means of communication, was designed as a transmission and reception process, while content became a secondary consideration. They further their economically-based position by rejecting the focus on the meanings of messages found in the media and, instead, concentrate on the technology as a portion of a society's overall political economy. Television viewing is both a real economic process (creating surplus value) and a reflection of values, created in the economy as a whole. This is an economically deterministic view which shares the weaknesses of a technologically deterministic position, exposed by Williams in *Television: Technology and Cultural Form.* Both frameworks consider technology independent of a particular society (Jhally and Livant 1986, 128).

Gumpert and Cathcart adopt a technological deterministic position in their approach to the analysis of media effects of new technologies. They "are drawing attention to the extent which the introduction of new communication media alter the ways in which we interact with the social environment" (Gumpert and Cathcart 1985, 33). Williams together with Innis, McLuhan, and Schramm, is said to examine the form and function of media technology and social change. In fact, Gumpert and Cathcart provide an example of the type of research Williams confronted in his discussion of technologically determined effects research, which assumes that new technologies are responsible for creating modern society. Although the authors mention Williams, they do not follow his understanding of the concepts involved in a review of media effects research.

Others, like Brummett and Jensen, reconceptualize Williams to help validate different theoretical positions. For instance, in his analysis of pornography and the VCR, Brummett incorporates the concept of flow to strengthen his argument for a commodification element common to television, VCRs, and pornography. He suggests the existence of a type of commodification on television, that is created within the television commercials themselves, and becomes an integral part of the programming flow through which commodities are constantly praised (Brummett 1988, 210). The emphasis of this research is on the technology itself and the uses that the audience makes of it.

Similarly, Jensen supports the integration of textual and social scientific approaches to reception. Noting that the flow of television programming has not been adequately considered in audience research, he suggests that a combined analysis of textual structures and audience response utilizing quantitative tools can aid reception studies (Jensen 1987, 26).

Fiske and Thorburn also focus on the applicability of Williams' concepts to audience-centered research. In his analysis of the roots of British and Australian television criticism, Fiske suggests, that Williams' focus on the relationship between cultural and ideological factors and the development of the technology of television, together with the concept of flow, have been incorporated by researchers who are attempting to articulate a theory of television. Fiske sees this approach also as useful to audience-site research, which considers how viewers "fit TV into the rest of their cultural and social life, in a mutually effective relationship" (Fiske 1986, 210).

Thorburn, in an essay urging an aesthetic analysis of television, finds Williams' interpretation of the ideological substructures of television helpful, yet limited by its "implicit anti-capitalist agenda" (Thorburn 1987, 165). Citing Williams' example of the Nazi's plans to use television as an instrument of social control, (Williams 1975, 24) the author reminds readers that communication systems can vary in how they "obey their cultural masters." Thorburn urges an analysis of television which not only includes the historical and ideological dimension, but also considers the "aesthetic registers of meaning" which audiences create from their interaction with the texts (Thorburn 1987, 165).

Other researchers make passing references to Williams within the context of their research. Some of these references are merely asides, some seem more fundamental in nature.

For instance, Rushing and Frentz, in their analysis of three current release action films, identify Williams as a researcher who addresses how a culture experiences technology, (Rushing and Frentz 1989, 61) while Ewen utilizes Williams' argument against technological determinism to support a plea for introducing historical and social elements into mainstream communication research (Ewen 1983, 223).

In an overview of communication research published in the special "Ferment in the Field" issue of *Journal of Communication*, Williams is considered along with Carey and other members of the "cultural sciences school of communication," who explain technology in terms of larger social and cultural considerations (White 1983, 293). In his overview of British Cultural Studies, Becker suggests that "traditional" American communication scholars might follow Williams' lead (and that of other Marxist scholars) and consider the "multiplicity of forces with which mass communication interacts" (Becker 1984, 77). And in a somewhat different vein, Levy uses Williams' analysis of television news in the United States and England to support his own discussion of the results of his audiencesited research on the uses and gratifications of television news (Levy 1978, 336).

These researchers appropriate Williams' concepts in a variety of ways, yet they do not address the theoretical and ideological considerations of his work. For example, the audience-site research, discussed above, focuses almost entirely on audience response to technology. The researchers do not emphasize an analysis of the intentions of these cultural practices and they therefore exclude a necessary consideration of the cultural process.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Finally, other researchers utilize Williams' concepts, mindful of the theoretical and ideological frameworks which underlie them, although there is one example of yet another type of reductionism. Grossberg, one of the few communication scholars who has dealt extensively with Williams, in "Strategies of Marxist Cultural Interpretation," details various approaches to cultural studies which are then summarily dismissed in favor of a postmodern approach. Although Grossberg refers to Williams as "perhaps the most significant figure in the emergence of Marxist Cultural Studies (Grossberg 1984, 400), he then reduces his contribution to communication studies to "structural mediation" in which the cultural text and social reality are linked together merely by the idea of structure of feeling. The idea of television as flow, is seen by Grossberg to evolve from this structure of feeling which he views as a singular, dominant form, rather than as the active, multiple, dominant but also emergent forms that Williams intends.

It is interesting to note that in an earlier article Grossberg reacted more favorably to Williams, finding his view of communication, "transcendental" and significant as it is addressed in the context of culture and domination (Grossberg 1979, 65). Although Grossberg's current reductionism of Williams may allow him to dismiss Williams easily in defense of his postmodern position, his view seems seriously flawed.

Structure of feeling is one of Williams' significant concepts, but it is not the sole foundation of his complete body of work. In fact, Grossberg's emphasis on structure of feeling seems misplaced, according to O'Connor, who finds this concept to be "a contradictory and ad hoc formulation," occupying only a minor place in Williams' work after the mid 1970s (O'Connor 1989, 408). O'Connor is particularly disturbed by Grossberg's "reading" of Williams, which he calls "partial and reductionist." He also refutes Grossberg's assessment of cultural studies as "a series of failed attempts to connect culture and society" (Grossberg 1984, 407). Although O'Connor tends to diminish the relevance of structure of feeling in Williams' writings, he correctly focuses on the multiplicity of meanings, concepts, and considerations that abound in Williams texts.

Rakow, Garnham, and Streeter also consider the full theoretical implications of Williams' writings, including not only the semantic meanings of these concepts, but also incorporating their poetic interpretations.

In "Gendered Technology, Gendered Practice," Rakow uses Williams' emphasis on the relationship of technology to a particular culture. His critical analysis of the conceptualization of technology and his concern with power relations in and through technology are found adaptable to a gendered analysis of technology (Rakow 1988, 60).

Garnham utilizes Williams' historical treatment of broadcasting to support his position that media systems take on specific characteristics determined in part by economic and bureaucratic structures, and class relations. He suggests that rather than concentrate on questions of legitimation or ideology, media studies should re-establish their ties with historical materialism, and consider central questions raised by the capitalist mode of production. Researchers should consider the connection and nature of determinancy between ideological and economic levels of society, the unequal distribution of surplus products, and the way the material production system reproduces itself (Garnham 1983, 319).

Streeter, in a discussion of the early rhetoric of cable, which emphasized cable's unique position and obscured economic and political issues, suggests that this "utopian talk" aided a reconceptualization of the medium which led to its re-regulation and subsequent growth (Streeter 1987, 174). The author utilizes Williams' argument against technological determinism, to support his position that cable was assumed to be an autonomous product of scientific and technical research which could "rehumanize a dehumanized society" through the elimination of bureaucratic restrictions on the regulation of government and the empowerment of the currently powerless public (Streeter 1987, 181).

CONCLUSION

Williams builds his theoretical framework on a consideration of a social totality in process, an understanding of culture as a way of life, an acknowledgement of hegemonic factors in society, which set limits and exert pressures, and on an insistence upon analyzing technology as an intention and effect of a particular culture. His contribution can provide a valuable conceptual foundation for American communication researchers. However, to do so, his ideas should be considered within the context of their theoretical and/or ideological frameworks.

This paper concludes that researchers responded to Williams in a variety of ways. There are indications of a decontextualization of concepts, stripped from their ideological and theoretical contexts, and reduced to tools or models to analyze specific information. Some researchers are found to use Williams to juxtapose their own contrary positions. Others co-opt his ideas to serve their own research agendas, some quite different from his goals, while still others mention Williams in passing. Finally, a few scholars are found to incorporate his concepts aware of their theoretical and ideological foundations.

This is a preliminary study with limited objectives; there are other texts by Williams that have also been received and incorporated in different ways; there are thousands of articles that reference Williams, published in a diversity of fields by journals like *Daedalus*, the *American Journal of Psychology, Environmental Planning and Development*, the *Journal of Social History*, and the *Journal of Sports History*. An examination of writings about Williams, including reviews of his work, should also be undertaken.

Books and monographs published by American communication scholars, such as James Carey, refer to Williams, and should be analyzed in an effort to assess his contribution to American communication scholarship. In his advancement of American Cultural Studies, Carey draws heavily on Williams' notions of culture as a way of life. However, he relies mainly on Williams' early writings, and his view of culture does not address considerations of power or domination, and rejects an analysis of class conflict (Carey 1977, 1988, 1989). In addition, Williams himself utilized his theoretical concepts within the structure of his novels and plays. An examination of these writings may yield useful information regarding the transference of ideas to the broader realm of an educated public.

The results of this study indicate other, more general questions related to the role of ideas. Is it realistic to expect that ideas can readily cross over from one field to another? And can European thought effectively be adapted by American researchers? This paper suggests that while some degree of incorporation is possible, the utilization of such ideas is often hindered by misuse and co-optation.

It might be useful to consider the response to Williams in a different context, as a stage of reception. Allan Megill in "The Reception of Foucault by Historians" found Foucault's reception fell into three stages: "non-reception," "confrontation," and "assimilation" (Megill 1987, 125). He suggests that historians generally neglected Foucault's work throughout the 1960s, began to consider him in the 1970s, and have increasingly utilized his work in the last decade. Megill notes, however, that as Foucault's concepts are assimilated it is difficult to assess the true impact of his work because the "distinctive features of the ideas being assimilated disappear" (Megill 1987, 131).

It is possible to view this study of Williams' reception within this frame, as an example of confrontation and assimilation, however, a specific analysis of how his concepts were used remains helpful in the determination of the actual impact of his work. It is interesting to note that his usage by communication researchers has lagged far behind other disciplines. His ideas have been debated and incorporated in the United States since the late 1950s -- almost twenty years before communication scholars took notice of him. It would be useful to examine the reasons for this resistance, and to compare the intellectual climate in communication with other fields. And finally it is important to understand how the reigning research paradigm in communication has restricted discussions of culture, power, and domination.

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The Shared Goals of Social Studies and Scholastic Journalism: Enhancing the Environment and Effectiveness of Citizenship Education

by

Thomas Eveslage
Professor of Communications
Department of Journalism
Temple University

A research paper presented to the Secondary Education Division
at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Annual Convention August 8-11, 1991
Boston, Massachusetts

The Shared Goals of Social Studies and Scholastic Journalism: Enhancing the Environment and Effectiveness of Citizenship Education

From the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution in 1987 though this year's 200th birthday of the Bill of Rights, celebrations have been marred by questions of America's commitment to these foundations of democracy. As documents, as parchment of abstract principles, rights and liberties get strong public support. When tied to tangible issues–opposition to the Persian Gulf War, hateful speech on campus, burning of the American flag–public support wanes.

Why is it that the individual liberty these documents espouse and preserve is so easily ignored by citizens more concerned with consensus than controversy, with common good than confrontation? When asked what the First Amendment means, why it exists, what freedoms it protects, and whom it protects, many Americans don't know and don't seem to care very much. Many citizens believe the First Amendment does not apply directly to them, but instead to the rich and powerful media.

Bicentennial celebrations that have brought public attitudes and understanding to light also have prompted a more intense effort to explain the gap between rhetoric and reality and to do something about it. Much of that attention has focused on how citizens learn and form attitudes about the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The public school curriculum has been closely studied, particularly civics and government courses in the social studies. This research has uncovered enough problems to suggest major reform measures in citizenship education.

Scholars who believe that the key to responsible citizenship is more effective education cite several barriers within the schools. This paper will summarize research on those obstacles–inadequate textbooks, a crowded curriculum, and ineffective teaching techniques and classroom environment. Building on the research of social science scholars, this paper will suggest how incorporating journalism into the citizenship curriculum can help relieve the burden on social studies teachers while it strengthens high school journalism and improves student publications.

The literature suggests that students with few classroom opportunities to experience the democratic principles being taught need a laboratory for learning. This paper proposes that the school's societal environment in general and the student press in particular are appropriate instruments for teaching citizenship.

Extent of the Problem

Educators dedicated to preparing productive citizens cannot ignore the facts: more than 100 million eligible voters chose not to cast a ballot in 1986. Most who stayed home were young; 38% of the public voted, but just 7% of those 18 to 24 years old.[1] A majority of adults do not know what is in the U.S. Constitution or why it exists.[2]

To whom does the Bill of Rights apply? That depends, the public seems to think. The Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression reported in 1990 that 90% of the public believes that government should not be able to censor the ideas of its citizens.[3] But the public believes that it is more important that advertisers be free to advertise than that journalists be free to publish.[4] And 40% said they did not believe the First Amendment protects the arts and entertainment, or that such protection is very important.[5]

The public's willingness to forgo individual freedom for the sake of government-defined "common good" was obvious during the Persian Gulf War. A Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll showed not even one in four persons believed that the Pentagon was "withholding information that should be available."[6] The chill that has stifled protected expression goes far beyond media newsrooms and boardrooms.[7] Liberals and conservatives alike have interpreted Politically Correct speech and enforced it with vigorous intimidation on university campuses and in the workplace.[8]

Not all of the news is gloomy, and some of it suggests ways to address the crisis in citizenship. The American Council on Education and UCLA, in their annual survey of college freshmen, reported that four in ten freshmen in 1990 said they took part in demonstrations during their last year in high school, up from 16% in the late 1960s.[9]

Some experts believe, however, that reports of an upswing in student activism have an ironic twist. More peaceful and less threatening than their counterparts 20 years ago, today's American protesters may be learning it is all right to speak up by observing not those around them but citizens of China, Eastern Europe and Latin America.[10] A closer look at some environmental influences on America's young citizens gives credence to this argument.

Teaching or Learning

One can be at best imprecise when assigning blame for today's ignorance or indifference regarding the Constitution and Bill of Rights. But it is safe to say that the education system profoundly influences the 2.5 million high school seniors who graduate each year. And mounting evidence reveals that these graduates take with them a superficial understanding of citizenship.

John D. Hoge of the University of Georgia noted recently that although civic education is an important a part of schooling, some advocates are concerned that its place in the curriculum may not be as solid and secure at it once was or should be.[11] But Hoge then adopts R. Freeman Butts' definition of civic education–"explicit and continuing ***study*** of the basic concepts and values underlying our democratic political community and constitutional order."[12] [my emphasis]

Part of the problem in educating for citizenship may come from equating "teaching" or "study" with "learning." Professor John J. Patrick notes that "Understanding of the Bill of Rights is an important part of education for responsible citizenship." After observing that students ***study*** the Bill of Rights at least four times before graduation, Patrick summarizes what students fail to ***learn***. He then astutely proposes ways to reconcile the study and the understanding of citizenship.[13]

With citizenship education in the curriculum (if not the charter) of virtually every public school in the country, students undoubtedly are being ***taught about*** citizenship. But evidence is overwhelming that young people are not carrying the message into their adult life. They are being taught but are not learning.

Deficiencies in Citizenship Education

Spurred somewhat by the bicentennial celebrations, educators have looked more closely at civic education during the past decade. They have not liked what they've seen.[14] Criticism has focused on three areas: teaching techniques/environment, curriculum priorities, and textbooks/resources. But the critics have outnumbered the reformers, and the list of deficiencies awaits a systematic attack that will strengthen citizenship education.

Research has given us a fairly clear picture of what school officials **say** they are teaching and a realistic view of how resources and time shape curricula and constrain classroom teachers. But neither school officials nor teachers have embraced strategies shown to effectively instill citizenship values. A review of current problems should help determine whether teaming with scholastic journalism is an alternative worth pursuing.

Teaching Techniques and Environment

Upon release in 1990 of the Nation's Report Card, a 16,000-student survey by the U.S. Department of Education, then-Secretary of Education Lauro F. Cavazos offered this assessment:

> Our students are mastering basic facts and skills in history and civics, but they must also know how to apply what they've learned....Less than half [of the students] can draw conclusions and demonstrate understanding–and that is unacceptable.[15]

Educators committed to citizenship education must recognize and overcome the obstacles, beginning with an obvious reluctance to depart from traditional classroom procedures. Too many common classroom techniques–use of printed drill materials, emphasis on factual content, repetition of patriotic rituals–are authoritarian in nature and barriers to an appreciation of democratic principles.

Students' professed commitment to democratic values is not consistently applied to unpopular individuals or ideas, Hoge observes.[16] Why? In social studies classes, where citizenship training is part of the curriculum, students read, discuss and write about the value of participatory democracy. But "good citizenship" is equated in the classroom too often with obedience, moral outcomes and compliance.[17] The abstract principles seldom become more than test questions soon forgotten.

Studies show that controversial topics must be used as concrete, contemporary applications that enable students to understand and appreciate the implications of abstract constitutional principles. Goldenson found that high school seniors who dealt with controversial topics during a three-week civil liberties unit showed significantly more positive attitude change regarding civil liberties.[18] Tenth and twelfth graders who felt free to express themselves in class and who took more courses where controversial issues were discussed have been found to be more tolerant of dissent.[19]

Ketcham, in his recent "Rationale for Civic Education," chastised social science education for inadequately preparing people for political decision-making and participation in government.[20] Butts has called for a new model civic education curriculum that incorporates critical thinking, basic democratic values and historic perspective.[21]

A critical perspective may be more important than ever, Branson suggests, because youth today, pragmatic and patriotic, condemn those with views out of the mainstream, resist doctrinaire positions, and doubt their power to influence public policy.[22] Although Miller found civic education in secondary schools to be a poor predictor of the kind or amount of political participation among adults,[23] superficial and shallow commitment to civic attitudes and democratic values has been linked to limited civic participation among young adults.[24]

Classroom discussions of controversial issues can have a positive impact on student attitudes, according to Hahn. Her research links an open classroom environment to less cynicism about government and politicians, a belief that citizens can influence the political system, and increased civic responsibility. Students are more likely to be politically active and express opinions about political issues with family and friends. When students can discuss controversies in a receptive environment, she concludes, they achieve higher levels of cognitive reasoning, higher quality problem solving, greater creativity, and more accurate perspectives.[25]

Critics repeatedly cite the inadequacy of a classroom focus on concepts and principles without instilling true understanding and an ability to apply those principles. In his 1988 assessment, Patrick says teachers fail to convey the meaning of the Bill of Rights, tolerance for its contemporary applications, and the ability to rationally analyze constitutional issues. He, too, calls for "an open and supportive classroom environment" where students "feel free and secure about expressing ideas on controversial topics, even if their ideas are unusual or unpopular."[26]

Textbooks and Teaching Resources

If citizenship education is stymied by what Goodlad calls the "extraordinary sameness in the ways of teaching,"[27] it is not surprising that the inadequate treatment of citizenship in widely used textbooks[28] merely compounds the problem schools face. Textbooks for the government and the civics courses are the main indicators of what and how students are taught about the Constitution.[29]

When 90% of all social studies teachers rely on textbooks as their primary instructional tool, content and quality of those resources become important predictors of classroom success.[30] Three-fourths of surveyed social studies teachers who spent time in class with First Amendment issues said they were guided, and somewhat restricted, by a model curriculum. In many of these schools, both the curriculum and a textbook were prescribed.[31]

Textbook evaluations over the past decade, however, have been consistently negative. Studies of standard secondary school textbooks have revealed "restricted coverage and shallow treatment of basic principles, values, and issues of constitutional government," Patrick noted.[32] In an earlier assessment, he faulted texts for their overemphasis on the negative aspects of government under the Articles of Confederation:

> In general, the textbook authors overlook numerous opportunities to relate political events to the Constitution. Thus, students who rely on these textbooks are not likely to understand how actions of important political leaders have led to informal, but lasting, modifications in the meaning of the Constitution.[33]

Based on an evaluation of five twelfth-grade government textbooks and five ninth-grade civics textbooks, Remy concluded that most textbooks at both levels deal strictly in definitions, not explanations. None attempts to develop for students more subtle ideas about the purposes served by the Constitution. None of the conflict, the dynamics of the evolving democracy, is present. As for the First Amendment, "The reader is rapidly taken through many brief annotations of Supreme Court decisions. Cases are not explained in depth and are rarely set in any social-political context."[34]

Summarizing the Project '87 textbook study described above, Patrick and Remy said that "Students who rely on these textbooks have little opportunity to know how the Constitution affects the lives of citizens."[35] And the study prompted the American Federation of Teachers to call for "more effective textbooks and resource materials" and major curriculum reform in the teaching of democratic values.[36]

Equally discouraging results of a more recent, ambitious textbook evaluation should prompt teachers and administrators to actively seek alternative resources for citizenship education. A six-member panel of prominent educators evaluated 13 government and five civics textbooks for their "capacity to impart to students the knowledge and skills necessary for democratic citizenship, as well as a lively enthusiasm for participation."[37]

Described as well-researched, well-designed, well-illustrated and rich with factual detail, the texts nonetheless were strongly criticized as dull and didactic, asking students "only to master knowledge of the subject rather than to put this knowledge to use." The "common, major deficiency," these reviewers noted, is that the texts are:

> intellectually and pedagogically dull tools for inspiring effective participation in the democratic political process. Many of the books are largely disembodied expositions of principles and facts, lacking the passion of the conflicts that infuse politics and government with meaning and significance.[38]

Civics texts got slightly better grades than the government texts. Reviewers said that the latter group often avoided controversial subjects, especially those relating to constitutional issues, and seldom asked students to use the information conveyed. As a result, the reviewers said, "the texts are often lifeless descriptions of origins, structures, and relationships." Other criticisms included failure to challenge students to think critically or creatively, to urge them to participate in the political process, or tell them how they could participate.[39]

The reviewers concluded with this assessment:

> The important issue here is what is being taught and how: factual information about American government, mastery of the concepts and methods that undergird our system, or the role of each citizen in the process of governing. All are important dimensions of the subject, but the texts put too much stress on facts and too little on concepts, methods, and participation. As a result, the texts too often are static descriptions of dynamic processes.[40]

It is obvious from all reviews that government and civics teachers who rely on their textbooks to dictate course content and approach will be doing little to inspire active citizenship.

Curriculum Priorities

Teachers bear a good deal of the blame for classroom procedures and an environment that fail to inspire citizenship, including reliance on ineffective textbooks. But others in a position to address the problem share the responsibility. Textbook publishers are aware of the criticism and other school officials are involved in textbook selection.

Critics of citizenship education identify a third problem, one teachers list as their major obstacle and the one over which they have the least control: the adopted curriculum. While civic education is well established in the social studies curriculum and formal courses in civics and government are high school graduation requirements in more than 35 states,[41] 85% of social studies teachers and 79% of social studies and journalism teachers in a recent survey said that course content limitations were most responsible for limited time spent on the study of freedom of expression.[42]

Teachers obligated to follow a mandated curriculum and an accompanying textbook deserve the encouragement of instruments more conducive to citizenship education.

Patrick's first of eight recommendations for improving understanding of the Constitution is to "assign [it] high priority in curriculum guides."[43] What students learn about good citizenship undoubtedly depends most upon the substance and design of the lesson and how it is presented.[44] But the heavy influence a model curriculum and standard textbook play in setting each lesson's agenda calls for more sweeping reform than a change in teachers' classroom behavior.

Addressing The Problem

Social science scholars who have identified classroom barriers to citizenship have offered constructive options. An overview of these measures should help determine whether scholastic journalism deserves a role in the reform of citizenship education.

Patrick has called for more systematic teaching of Bill of Rights concepts, case studies on related issues, and an open, supportive classroom environment for discussion of those issues.[45]Other suggestions include lessons that require in-depth studies of major issues and themes in constitutional history; that stress interpretation, analysis and synthesis; and that encourage students to connect the Constitution to contemporary concerns of citizenship.[46]

Remy has called for more use of supplementary books and readings to compensate for scant treatment of citizenship in traditional textbooks.[47] But Turner concluded that such materials were scarce. While acknowledging the contributions of Law-Related Education programs, she said that they do not focus on the Constitution or Bill of Rights and do not encourage students to associate constitutional issues with contemporary problems.[48]

During the past five years, the bicentennial has inspired new curriculum materials on the Constitution and Bill of Rights,[49] including many from media organizations attempting to encourage study of the First Amendment.[50]

Another recurring suggestion to help jump-start an apathetic citizenry is to give students first-hand experiences to solidify the foundations of citizenship. Reische proffers this and outlines youth participation programs that provide hands-on experience.[51] Turner advocates initiating community involvement programs as an effective response to "the traditional idea that political education has to do with training students to do something in the future–when they are adult citizens."[52]

People for the American Way, stridently critical of education's failure to prepare students for concerned, active citizenship, has called for a "work-study or internship element" to allow students to practice and observe citizenship.[53] And Nelson described how civics teachers can bring the political process to life and closer to the students' lives through the use of the newspaper and television news.[54]

"Direct experience is necessary to motivate students and to maximize retention and transfer," Newmann argues. "Citizenship should become a laboratory subject" where formal study is reinforced by reflecting on interaction with the real issues, people and situations of civic life.[55]

Practicing Citizenship in the School

Surprisingly few proponents of the bring-citizenship-to-life philosophy have advocated using the "laboratory" called School, that micro-society so much a part of a young citizen's life. In school, everything the student does–or is not allowed to do–becomes a lesson in citizenship.

A less authoritarian, democratic school climate has been shown to foster democratic civic attitudes and behavior,[56] but except for an occasional lesson plan in a school setting,[57] educators seem to believe that hands-on preparation for Citizenship After High School means experience outside of school.

For example, the six video programs recently prepared by social studies scholar John Patrick all effectively cast students within identifiable situations that illustrate such constitutional issues as federalism, separation of powers, freedom of speech and equal protection under law.[58] Because each scenario takes place outside of the school environment, however, students get a mixed message: constitutionally protected rights apply to citizens, even to young people as citizens, but those rights seem not to extend to students during the school day.

The theme of a citizenship hierarchy is subtle in these video programs, but coupled with other examples of second-class status during 12 or 13 years in school, each such message undercuts efforts to inspire active citizenship. Those who strive to strengthen civic commitment among the young by building on the suggestions of social science scholars should look within the school for ways to give meaning to citizenship.

Journalism as a Laboratory for Citizenship

Former public school teacher and administrator Joe Nathan, while a senior fellow at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, advocated a model for participatory citizenship that made school and community service a requirement for high school graduation. He discussed how a commitment to spreading service across the school curriculum reinforces a message carried well into adult life.[59] Effective participatory programs, Nathan said, have five features:

1. They address a real need.
2. They integrate and nurture academic skills.
3. They allow students to analyze problems, consider and try possible solutions, evaluate results, try again, and reflect on what they have learned.

4. They encourage collaborative problem-solving between teacher and student.

5. They produce a tangible product as evidence of accomplishment.[60]

One prospering participatory program that meets Nathan's criteria remains a largely ignored tool to teach citizenship values. That instrument is scholastic journalism. Whether through a formal journalism class or an extra-curricular student publication, most high schools have a vehicle to offer students all of the benefits Nathan outlines. By taking advantage of their respective strengths, social studies and journalism teachers can improve both programs and better prepare their students for productive citizenship.

In government, civics and American history courses, students read and discuss and write about the value of participatory democracy. But to make citizenship education meaningful, social studies teachers must confront their reported reluctance to depart from traditional classroom teaching tools.[61]

Extracurricular activities are alternatives worthy of more consideration. Research shows that students involved in extracurricular activities develop higher levels of political efficacy and participation in civic life outside of school.[62] Student newspapers and yearbooks are extracurricular forums that bring classroom principles to life. As student journalists probe and question, face obstacles and balance competing interests, examine school issues and try to make a difference, they exemplify citizenship in action.

An ambitious study by Jack Dvorak for the Journalism Education Association's Commission on the Role of Journalism in Secondary Education suggests an array of benefits to students applying their writing and critical thinking skills through student publications.[63]

Dvorak found that almost 25% of the 19,000 students in the study who took the ACT Assessment test had worked on a school newspaper or yearbook staff. Compared with the 75% who had not done publications work, Dvorak found, the student journalists had significantly higher social studies scores (74th percentile). And of those who went on to college, the student journalists had significantly higher high school grade-point averages and better high school grades in both English and social studies.[64]

The JEA Commission study also looked at 29 language-arts competencies, focusing on writing and critical-thinking skills. Students who had completed a high school journalism class noted benefits of this academic/laboratory environment. They said that more than their standard English courses, their journalism class helped them identify, comprehend, evaluate and report ideas; draw reasonable conclusions from information from various sources; deal with conflicts while working with other people; write persuasively about issues; and organize their ideas and convey them in clear, concise and correct writing.[65]

Dvorak does not claim that his research shows a cause-effect link between publications work and greater academic achievement. But the data suggest that practical application in a publications setting reinforces and enhances classroom learning, regardless of a student's academic ability.

Dvorak and the Commission study make a compelling argument for using scholastic journalism to reinforce language-arts objectives and the school's commitment to improve students' writing skills. Summarizing his research findings, Dvorak notes that "Certainly it can be assumed that high school publications provided a valuable outlet in which these students could practice their writing talents."[66] Interestingly, the same argument can be made to link journalism with the social studies curriculum. The school, striving to meet its obligation to prepare productive citizens, can at best expect its social studies teachers to provide an historical and philosophical context. Incorporating a journalism component would give contemporary meaning and richness to a school's efforts to prepare productive citizens.

Working with student publications makes "the writing process come alive" in an environment that fosters literacy, Dvorak notes.[67] And, citing Sizer, Dvorak observes that literacy is more than the ability to read and write. It is understanding the basic arguments and ideas of social and political life well enough to be able to convey them orally or in writing to others–a requisite of meaningful participation in society.[68]

The JEA Commission helped legitimize scholastic journalism as an academic discipline worthy of a partnership role in citizenship education. Reinforcing its status and credibility is the Journalism Education Association's recent certification program. With the education departments in more than half the states requiring little or no formal coursework of journalism teachers, a JEA Certification Commission has established rigid requirements for Certified Journalism Educator and Master Journalism Educator status.[69]

JEA President Ken Siver expects the certification program to demonstrate how journalism is a sound academic subject. But he also believes it will encourage school administrators and state licensing agencies to strengthen classroom instruction.[70]

Unfortunately, many high school journalism programs do not yet warrant the academic status JEA envisions. While the journalism classroom and student publication offer valuable forums for citizenship education, too many teachers/advisers lack the expertise to capitalize on the opportunity.

In her 1989 study of 325 North Carolina high school journalism teachers, Phillips found that teachers felt *least* prepared to teach about freedom of expression than any other part of their work. And that was true regardless of their years of teaching experience, their years as a journalism teacher, the amount of college work in journalism, or their professional experience in the field.[71]

Yet journalism teachers are educating citizens, not just journalists. A small minority of the students working on this country's 18,000 junior and senior high school publications go on to become professional journalists. The journalism teacher and publications adviser, therefore, do much more than vocational or pre-professional training. They have the much greater responsibility of teaching effective communications and critical thinking skills that students will apply as adult citizens. Because those are components of citizenship education, journalism students and teachers alike would gain from a closer working relationship with social studies teachers and their curriculum.

There are other reasons for cooperation. Journalism teachers/advisers who are unsure of free speech principles are more likely to avoid controversy and issues every bit as much as the research shows social studies teachers do. Social studies teachers, meanwhile, are textbook-bound and argue that a packed, overburdened model curriculum gives them too little time to experiment or treat constitutional issues in depth.

Some publication advisers contend that their greatest obstacle to quality student newspapers is a lack of motivation and curiosity among their student editors and reporters.[72] As Jean Otto, founder and committee chair of the national First Amendment Congress, told social studies teachers last fall, "If citizens decline their responsibilities because of apathy, indolence, ignorance, selfishness, prejudice, or some other state of mind–democratic government will fail."[73] Sharing the burden for citizenship education with the publications could reinforce the citizenship theme of a government or American history course while strengthening the journalism program.

People cannot govern themselves if they think making decisions is somebody's else's job, Otto says.[74] The fragile nature of this lesson among the young is illustrated by two news accounts in the same issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer several years ago. One story revealed the results of a Gallup Youth Survey that showed teenagers expressing strong support for freedom of speech and press. But a second story concerned a Pennsylvania school where the senior trip was canceled because the class advisers resigned. The resignations came after one of the 41 seniors stood silently during homeroom, not reciting the pledge of allegiance. When the homeroom teacher complained, senior class officers supported the student's "right to remain silent." The advisers then resigned, citing "disrespect, defiance and support of defiance." In the words of the homeroom teacher, "If he's going to be defiant to me here, what's going to happen on the trip?"

At least one reader of that day's newspaper may instead have wondered–If those students are punished for supporting freedom of expression now, what is going to happen when they leave school? How long will they retain their strong support for freedom of speech and the press? Jean Otto suggests an answer:

> It is no accident that those who have never had choices do not know how to exercise the liberty they yearn to possess. They have no experience in thinking for themselves, evaluating leaders, challenging manipulators, respecting differences, resolving disagreements, valuing knowledge and access to all the information and views that exist. Without these, the quest for individual liberty is ephemeral and doomed.[75]

The student press provides many of the benefits that reformers of citizenship education seek from a laboratory experience. School publications can offer that springboard to community involvement. Young journalists who see their social studies lessons come to life in the student press, where freedom of expression can effect change, are likely to continue to be active citizens. Examples abound of newspapers free to address issues that affect students–award-winning articles with such headlines as "A Bust: Police Crack Down on Drugs," "Black Students Face Obstacles to Integration," "Understanding Date Rape," and "A Haunting Vision: Sudden Death in High School."[76]

Is there any doubt that students at Amphitheater High School in Tucson learned a citizenship lesson when their student newspaper, The Desert Gazette, reported on school violations of the Arizona fire code? Or in Coral Gables, Florida, when Highlights published a story and editorial on the lack of handicapped parking, then reported when parking was added?

These are not isolated instances, but they also are not the norm among student publications. For reasons cited above, among others, the student press is more comfortable covering routine school events than controversial issues. Student journalists also have been silenced by ignorance and intimidation. [The Student Press Law Center in Washington, D.C., received 929 phone requests for legal advice from student journalists in 1990. This was an increase of more than 50% over the 615 requests in 1989.[77]]

But a cooperative effort by journalism and social studies teachers can strengthen the student press and light a fire within students. If educators convey the frightening message that students must wait for some rite of passage before they have earned the status of "citizen" and the rights that come with that classification, the young may very well shrug their shoulders with indifference.

An Appropriate Time To Act

There is no better time for proponents of scholastic journalism to seek closer ties with social studies teachers. For several reasons, timely action would benefit both disciplines:

- Attention to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights has stirred more interest in citizenship education and the value of a free and open student press.

- More teaching resources on constitutional issues–so obviously needed in light of scant coverage in textbooks–have become available. Resources through Law-Related Education programs have bolstered classes in government and civics. The media, particularly through Newspaper-in-Education programs, have helped develop teaching tools on the First Amendment and the Bill of Rights. These resources could aid teachers in cooperative journalism and social studies programs.

- As more legislatures and state departments of education espouse Accountability and Outcomes Assessment, and university Schools of Education scramble to comply,[78] model curricula and textbook titles will be insufficient evidence of classroom success. Student publications could and should offer evidence of effective citizenship education.

- JEA's two commission studies–one solidifying scholastic journalism's academic validity and the other establishing certification standards for teachers–have provided a good foothold for a successful cooperative program. Teachers and advisers would become more comfortable dealing with controversy and free-speech issues; formal journalism classes would gain stature and students; schools would seek and value more qualified journalism teachers and publication advisers.

- Such two-tiered training that puts citizenship into action also should produce a more vibrant student press, one that confronts issues while understanding and appreciating the limits of free speech. This sound basis for responsible journalism should ease the apprehension and repression that too many school officials still exhibit when dealing with student publications. And a more knowledgeable and unrestricted publications staff could regain some of the self-esteem taken from them in the three years since the U.S. Supreme Court's Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier ruling limited student expression.[79]

* * * * *

Evidence abounds in this country that the American public appreciates the abstract concept of free speech, but is far less tolerant of its day-to-day applications. This is true of the press, grudgingly tolerated by the public but certainly not understood. The roles of Government Watchdog and Surrogate for the Public seem secondary to the public's perception that the media sensationalize in an effort to attract audiences.

Proper perceptions of the press's role in a free society must be instilled early in our young citizens. Nowhere are the values of a free society, and the press's role, more dramatically conveyed to youth than through daily experiences in the school environment, through classroom encounters in civics and government, and through extra-curricular activities that embody those values.

Whether today's students become tomorrow's active, caring citizens depends on the exposure and encouragement they get in school. And, most of all, on how the words of citizenship and the Bill of Rights come alive and gain meaning.

Endnotes

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Regulating High School Publications After Hazelwood:
An Inclusive Model

Kathy Brittain McKee
University of Georgia/Berry College

Presented to the Secondary Education Division of the Association
for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
Boston, Mass.: August 10, 1991.

Regulating High School Publications After Hazelwood: An Inclusive Model

The 1988 Supreme Court decision in Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier[1] offered public school authorities broad discretion in limiting student speech or in exercising prior restraint on student publications. The Court equated student expression with state speech. Since the state has such great interest in the educational process, the court said, it may retain control of expressions within that context. Since the state funds high school publications such as newspapers or yearbooks, it may assume ownership and act as publisher.

The decision was seen as a partial reversal of the liberal parameters of free speech granted in Tinker v. Des. Moines Independent Community School District[2] in 1969. Many greeted the Hazelwood decision with horror, proclaiming that it would stifle school publications and stilt student understandings[3]; others applauded the decision, saying that it put control of schools back into the hands of administrators where it belonged.[4] Some worried that the decision would teach students that the Constitution "was a mere platitude,"[5] making them even less convinced by, or involved in, the democratic process.

Under the Hazelwood ruling, school boards and school principals now have great latitude in determining what is acceptable speech; they are allowed to restrict all speech for which they do not want to imply school endorsement. The Court outlined speech that such officials might deem unacceptable in the school context:

> Hence, a school may in its capacity as publisher of a school newspaper or producer of a school play 'disassociate itself,' not only from speech that would 'substantially interfere with work..or impinge upon the rights of other students', but also from speech that is, for example, ungrammatical, poorly written, inadequately researched, biased or prejudiced, vulgar or profane, or unsuitable for immature audiences. ... A school must also retain the authority to refuse to sponsor student speech that might reasonably be perceived to advocate drug or alcohol use, irresponsible sex, or conduct otherwise inconsistent with 'the shared values of a civilized social order,' or to associate the school with any position other than neutrality on matters of political controversy. (Citations deleted.)[6]

The Court did not address the day-to-day procedures for how such limitations were to be placed on student publication or speech, simply requiring officials to restrict such limitations to areas "reasonably related to legitimate pedagogical concerns."[7] In his dissent, Justice Brennan noted this omission: "In part because of these dangers, this Court has consistently condemned any scheme allowing a state official boundless discretion in licensing speech from a particular forum."[8]

This paper will argue that to restrict such "boundless discretion," school boards should adopt a policy for regulating high school publications that would allow for both administrative and student involvement in establishing guidelines and determining content. Certainly, the state of freedom afforded students in the school environment before the decision would be preferred, but reversal of Hazelwood is not likely, given the conservative nature of the present Court. Working through this decision to ensure the broadest parameters of freedom for student expression then becomes paramount. Part I of this paper will propose a model for such, and Part II will offer justification for the model.

I

Under this proposal, local school districts would require that publication boards be established at each secondary school in their systems. The boards would have control of the publications in that school under guidelines to be developed by the publication board and approved by the school district. Principals, advisors and student editors would serve on the board, along with other members as detailed below. Due process procedures for appeal of publication board decisions should be established and approved as well. (See Appendix A for a model of the proposed system.)

The board would allow for input of those with an interest in student expression -- faculty, advisors, administrators, editors and students -- through voting, discussion and review. Such an inclusive model would maintain control on a very local level, as recommended by the Court in Hazelwood, and yet would protect student freedoms by allowing their voices to be heard and their input considered as decisions are made. Such participation enhances the pedagogical aspect of publication work, an important function of such publications, according to the Hazelwood decision as stressed by the Court.

Such a board was proposed by Trager and Ostman in 1970[9] in a Scholastic Editor article titled "Caging the Censorship Dragon," a title that may be even more appropriate in the present post-Hazelwood era. They argued that it was a "good compromise,"[10] where the school board retained its control as legal publisher and the superintendent as executive editor, and the board or publications would serve as managing and news editors, in charge of day-to-day operations.

A board composed of students, faculty and administrators has also been called for by the Iowa State Board of Education's publication model policy statement that was drafted as a guide for school systems seeking to conform with a state law passed in 1989 that restored high school regulation to the Tinker standard.[11] The board would serve as an appeal panel to hear complaints of student writers or editors who feel their rights have been abridged.

Membership

The principal should serve as chairman of the board, as suggested by Trager and Ostman[12], and should vote only in case of a tie. This would allow the principal a measure of control as he or she would be responsible for calling meetings, assembling agendas, etc. Student editors or media managers and publication advisors should be voting members. At least two other faculty members should be elected by their peers to serve on the board as voting members, and at least three other students should be elected by their peers to serve and to vote. This will allow for input from the general audiences of the publications. Members will serve one-year terms.

Responsibilities

The school district is the legal publisher of student publications and is financially and legally responsible for what is included in them. Its liability is limited only by state laws regarding state immunity.[13] School-law scholar Vernon Smith writes, "The only exception is where the publication can be proved without question to be completely independent of [school] financing or control."[14] Establishing a publications board would not exempt the district from such financial responsibility, unless the board recommended that the publications be deemed completely independent. However, as will be discussed later, creating such a board might reduce the liability of the system if it became a forum for resolving problems internally rather than having to seek redress through expensive, formal litigation.

The publications board will be responsible for developing and maintaining written guidelines for expression within the school environment[15], subject to local school board approval.

The publications board will also be responsible for answering questions and dealing with complaints regarding student publications or expressions. This publication board may also assume responsibility for monitoring publication budgets, approving contracts, etc., as determined by school district policy. It must also be responsible for publicizing the guidelines each year, making them available to each faculty member and student within the school.

The board will be convened as necessary by the principal. The board must meet at least once a year to review policy guidelines and to review developments in student speech/publication law. Procedures for calling meetings of the board in response to complaints or questions about publication or expression should be specified by the policy guidelines.

Guidelines

Clearly, the most important function oft he board will be the establishment and maintenance of written guidelines for student expression. These guidelines will become the policy of the school and therefore must be developed responsibly and thoughtfully. The guidelines should cover only in-school publication or expression. The courts have ruled that off-campus speech by students cannot be regulated by the school.[16] In school expression must be designated as school sponsored and non-school sponsored. All school-sponsored speech can be regulated under the *Hazelwood* reasonableness standard; all individual non-school sponsored speech is still subject to regulation under the

Tinker standard of "material disruption." As the Court explained in Hazelwood:

> Accordingly, we conclude that the standard articulated in Tinker for determining when a school may punish student expression need not also be the standard for determining when a school may refuse to lend its name and resources to the dissemination of student expression. Instead, we hold that educators do not offend the First Amendment by exercising editorial control over the style and content of student speech in school-sponsored expressive activities so long as their actions are reasonably related to legitimate pedagogical concerns.[17]

The Student Press Law Center has developed model guidelines that could be used as a basis for publication board deliberation, although some revision may be required following the Hazelwood ruling.[18] In particular, the designation of publications as limited public forums, as called for by the SPLC guidelines, would certainly receive great scrutiny since the Court in Hazelwood ruled that student publications generally are part of curricula and therefore are not designed to be forums. According to the decision, for such a public forum to be created, there would have to be express designation of the publications as open "for indiscriminate use by the public."[19] If such a forum is created, school officials may not control content at all prior to publication. As a practical note, few school boards may accept the "forum" designation as a matter of policy after such latitude has been granted them by the Court. However, such designation by the publication board and the school district -- or the state legislature -- would offer students greater freedom of expression in publications. Much of the rest of the written guideline's content will be dependent upon that designation, so logically such a decision must come before drafting the remaining guidelines.

Without such a designation, under Hazelwood, the guidelines may carry reasonable restrictions on content, such as that which is libelous[20] or that which falls into the categories described by the Court and cited above. Specificity in such descriptions in important, however;[21] for example, the designation of neutrality on controversial political issues is a broad and vague reference in the dicta of Hazelwood. The board of publication should decide if that means the student publications cannot endorse political candidates, or may not speak for or against referendum issues, or if it may not discuss off-campus politics as opposed to on-campus issues such as student government elections. Certainly, if the student publications are to serve pedagogical purposes, forbidding discussion of controversial political issues entirely seems stilted and unreasonable. For example, it is hard to imagine that a school district would forbid the high school newspaper from endorsing a local bond issue that would permit expansion or renovation of school facilities. It might, however, be reasonable to deny student newspapers the right to endorse certain off-campus political candidates since that might be interpreted as state endorsement per se. [Public broadcasting stations, a similar avenue of state-funded speech, are allowed to editorialize about public issues but are not allowed to endorse specific candidates. See FCC v. League of Women Voters, 468 U.S. 364 (1984) for a full explanation of this rationale.]

The guidelines should also include clear and precise explanations of due process procedures, those that should be followed if a student is disciplined for violating publication guidelines or if one is appealing a publications board decision.[22] The National Organization on Legal Problems of Education recommends that such procedures specify that charges and evidence must be presented in writing, that two to five days notice should be given about the calling of hearings, that a fair hearing be offered, and that substantial evidence by required if punishment is to be given.[23]

The board of publications may also be charged with dealing with the financing of publications. Negotiating contracts and choosing vendors may be the sole function of the principal as part of the employment contract and job responsibilities. If not, it may be the advisor and editor who bring recommendations on such to the board for approval, or the entire board may review each bid. Funding of student publications cannot be withdrawn as a coercive measure, [24] but funding can be altered for financial reasons unless the funding scarcity was artificially created as a punitive measure.[25]

II

Why include students as members of the publication board, when the Court did not require such input as part of a "reasonable" standard of high school press regulation? There are three reasons that such an inclusive model is advisable. First, the Court did not forbid such a model, so it is not illegal if construed by local school authorities as a reasonable regulation, and such a model might well prevent needless litigation. Second, as the dissent in Hazelwood indicated, some check on the unfettered power of the principal will help ensure that the school curriculum does not become unduly inculcating and orthodox, a danger the Court has addressed in cases before. Electing representatives to serve on the board will offer students experience in representative democracy, teaching them the type of "civics lesson" Justice Brennan called for in his dissent. Third, the nature of the pedagogical experience itself, the learning of journalistic skills through curricular and extracurricular activities, requires freedom of operation in order for students to learn how to practice the discipline in a free society. Each of these reasons will be explained more fully below.

First, having individual publication boards draft policies subject to school district approval would be reasonable under the Hazelwood doctrine. In that decision, the Court said that control of education matters is best left at the local level, a standard "consistent with our oft-expressed view that the education of the Nation's youth is primarily the responsibility of parents, teachers, and state and local school officials, and not of federal judges."[26] Later in the opinion, the Court continued: "Accordingly, we have traditionally reserved the 'daily operation of school systems' to the States and their local school boards."[27] Only when such control interferes with basic constitutional rights should courts intervene. Establishing an inclusive publications board certainly does not interfere with such rights, so it should be a local school district adoption decision.

In a Colorado case where students claimed that hair length was a symbolic speech action, some Denver high school students protesting regulation of hair lengths sued, claiming that allowing individual schools to establish dress codes was unreasonable.[28] They lost when the District Court of Colorado upheld the individual school dress code policies that were developed through collaborations of students, parents, faculty and administrators. The court said that having a school-by-school code was an "eminently reasonable approach" that allowed "each school to deal with its own particular problems in this area, but also makes it possible for students to play a significant role in adopting and reviewing such dress codes."[29] Certainly, dress codes and publication guidelines are not equivalent issues, but they both involve limitations on student discretion in an expressive speech area. This ruling did endorse an individual-school, student-inclusive framework for establishing guidelines for such behaviors, such as the one advocated in this paper.

As a practical matter, the inclusive model might help avoid litigation as well. Even before Hazelwood, Stevens and Webster pointed out, "Although the courts require only 'reasonable' rules and not necessarily student participation in boards of publications, some problems might be solved without legal action if students were brought into the decision-making process."[30] Essex echoed this idea, saying that having students and teachers involved in establishing policies might help avoid legal challenges involving student publications.[31] Writing for the National Organization on Legal Problems of Education, Reutter agreed: "Legally, who wins the case is not nearly as crucial as why the decision was made. Educationally, who wins the case is not nearly as crucial as why the discipline situation could not have been resolved short of recourse to the public, adversary forum of the court."[32] Explaining such reasoning to school boards or principals who are seeking to avoid such an adversarial forum could bring support for the publication board from these groups.

Second, student and teacher participation would serve as a partial check on the absolute power of the principal as censor and the power of the state to "cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom,"[33] a danger recognized by the Court in the 1967

Keyishian ruling. The state does have undeniable interests in propagating certain viewpoints and values in the schools. Garvey writes, "The state's authority to discourage children's expressions derives from the child's need for parental direction and the state's interest in educating future citizens."[34] Certainly, as Garvey points out, students are not "self-governing" when it comes to curriculum.[35] However, as Buss writes, "Schools should strengthen our democracy by inculcating the values identified by the majority while also strengthening our commitment to freedom by fostering pluralism and eschewing orthodoxy in religion or politics."[36] Allowing for student and faculty input would support such a goal.

Blasi argues that the value of the First Amendment lies in its power to check the power of the government, and that checking value has certain implications for a captive audience, such as students. "One of the great bulwarks against totalitarianism is an open educational system, substantially independent of state control and devoted to developing in future citizens a critical attitude toward government."[37] In 1979 in the Ambach v. Norwich case, the Supreme Court said by socializing students for participation in a democracy, teachers perform a task "that goes to the heart of representative government."[38] Kamenshine warns that high school students are particularly vulnerable to indoctrination, and therefore state control of political orientation is very dangerous.[39] The inclusive model of publication governance would help protect against such inculcation. Discussing government speech in the educational context, Shiffrin concludes: "The central lesson of the inquiry, however, must be that a system which fragments decisionmaking about educational control is more likely to further children's rights."[40]

Again, the Court's Hazelwood dictum that said schools may reasonably forbid publications from covering issues of political controversy might lead to situations where this shared decision making might help protect against indoctrination. The definition of political controversy left open by Hazelwood may too easily become any viewpoint in opposition to a school board or principal's political leanings. This inclusive model would allow for debate on this issue and could protect such discussion within publications as well. Yet the right of the state to propagate its viewpoints is also maintained since reasonable limitations may be placed on content to protect pedagogical interests and to allow for differing levels of intellectual development among students.[41]

Third, divorcing learning in journalism from First Amendment protection of freedom of expression and publication is hollow learning. Arons and Lawrence[42] argue that allowing freedom of expression within public schools is necessary if schools are to prepare students for citizenship duties, a goal of public schooling often espoused by proponents of overt censorship within the school environment. Golub[43] argues that student journalists must be offered some protection:

> If the purpose of a school newspaper was merely to teach student staff members journalism ethics, writing skills, and newspaper production, there would be no reason to sell or distribute the newspaper to the school community. The fact that this type of student expression serves a valid educational purpose in and of itself should justify more comprehensive first amendment protection to school-sponsored newspapers than to other school-sponsored activities.

Garvey[44] argues that free speech plays an instrumental role in student development, helping the student to achieve self-fulfillment, to prepare for citizenship and to pursue truth. Certainly free speech is a vital element in the development of critical-thinking skills, the necessary component of successful education, and thus is worthy of support.

Without student participation in regulating speech on some level, learning about journalism and democracy may be reduced to empty classroom exercises without realistic challenges. According to Abrams and Goodman of the SPLC, "The Court is now telling students, however, that they must receive these values passively, without an opportunity to debate on a schoolwide basis the issues and concerns of the day."[45] As Brennan wrote eloquently in his Hazelwood dissent:

> Instead of 'teaching children to respect the diversity of ideas that is fundamental to the American system,' and 'that our Constitution is a living reality, not

> parchment preserved under glass,' the Court today 'teaches youth to discount important principles of our government as mere platitudes.' The young men and women of Hazelwood East expected a civics lesson, but not the one the Court teaches them today. (Citations deleted.)

Allowing students and faculty to elect representatives and allowing student editors to have input into the body that will make decisions about their governance may restore some of that belief in the principles of American democracy and journalistic integrity and may help ensure that learning about journalism occurs, and thus is a compelling argument supporting this inclusive model.

Certainly, neither instituting publication boards nor drafting written guidelines is a novel idea. Both have been used by American school systems for a number of years as a way to regulate expression. The Educational Research Service surveyed 538 school systems in 1975 and found that 76 percent of them had a written disciplinary code, and 34.2 percent had a written code of student rights.[47] For example, the Berkeley, Calif., High School Code was adopted in 1971 and appears to be very similar to the model proposed above.[48] Its written guidelines include sections offering protection for freedom of the press, speech, petition and redress. Its governing board was composed of six students who were elected, four teachers who were elected, and one staff member who was elected. They served one-year terms.

This board had the power to administer punishments for violations of the code. The state of California enacted legislation in 1976 requiring each school district to adopt a written publications code detailing student rights under the Tinker standard.[49] Use of such models is evidence that school boards and school principals may be open to such an inclusive governance model.

In summary, the Hazelwood ruling in 1988 offered school officials great discretion in the regulation of in-school, school-sponsored publication or expression by students. Short of overturning the decision, the best protection for student rights may lie in adopting a school-specific written regulatory code and in forming a publication board of elected students, faculty and administrators that will administer the code. Including students in the decision-making process will help curtail the dangers of state control envisioned by the dissent in Hazelwood and by student-press-rights activists. This will also support the legitimate pedagogical function of the schools by offering practical lessons in representative democracy.

FOOTNOTES

1. 484 U.S. 260 (1988).
2. 393 U.S. 503 (1969).
3. Kamen, A. Schools' Power to Censor Student Publications Widened. The Washington Post (Jan. 14, 1988); Simpson, M. Supreme Court Chills Student Press Rights. NEA Today 13 (March 1988); Burlingham, N. Hazelwood Comes Home to Roost. The School Press Review 22 (Winter 1988); Hazelwood: A Complete Guide to the Supreme Court Decision. SPLC Report 35 (Spring 1988).
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5. *Supra*, note 1, at 266.
6. *Supra*, note 1. at 262.
7. *Supra*, note 1, at 262.
8. *Supra*, note 1, at 265.

9. Trager, B. and Ostman, R. Caging the Censorship Dragon. Scholastic Editor 8 (Dec. 1970-Jan. 1971).

10. Iowa Department of Education, Model Policy on Student Publications Code. 2, 6 (February 1991).

11. *Supra*, note 9, at 8.

12. *Supra*, note 9, at 11.

13. Stevens, G. E. and Webster, J. B. Law and the Student Press 1973; Hudgens, H. C. and Vacca, R. S. Law and Education: Contemporary Issues and Court Decisions 1985.

14. Cited by Stevens and Webster at 3.

15. *Supra*, note 9, at 9.

16. Shanley v. Northeast Indep. Sch. Dist., Bexar County, TX. 462 F.2d 960 (5th Cir. 1972); Thomas v. Board of Educ., Granville Central Sch. Dist., 607 F.2d 1043 (2nd Cir. 1979).

17. *Supra*, note 1, at 263.

18. Model Guidelines, SPLC Report 44-45 (Spring 1988).

19. *Supra*, note 1, at 263.

20. Jacobs v. Board of Sch. Commissioners, 490 F.2d 601 (7th Cir. 1973); Eisner v. Stamford Board of Educ., 440 F.2d 803 (2nd Cir. 1971); Nitzburg v. Parks, 525 F.2d 378 (4th Cir. 1973); Nicholson v. Board of Educ., 682 F.2d 858 (9th Cir. 1982); Baughman v. Freienmuth, 478 F.2d 1345 (4th Cir. 1973); Fujishima v. Board of Educ., 460 F.2d 1335 (7th Cir. 1972).

21. *Supra*, note 22.

22. Eisner, *supra*, note 19.

23. Phay, R. E. Legal Issues in Public School Administrative Hearings 1982.

24. Joyner v. Whiting, 477 F.2d 456 (4th Cir. 1973).

25. Reineke v. Cobb Cty. Sch. Dist., 484 F.Supp. 1252 (N.D. Ga. 1980).

26. *Supra*, note 1, at 261.

27. *Id.*

28. Buck v. Board of Educ. Sch. Dist. #1, Denver, Co. 305 F.Supp. 1316 (D.C. Colo. 1969).

29. *Id.* at 1321.

30. *Supra*, note 23, at 21.

31. Essex, N. L. A Landmark Supreme Court Decision Grants School Authorities the Right to Censor School Sponsored Student Newspapers. 59 Contemp. Educ. 139 (Spring 1988).

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35. *Id.* at 360.

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38. 441 U.S. 68, 77.

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40. Shiffrin, S. Government Speech. 27 *UCLA L. Rev.* 565, 653 (1979-80).

41. *Zykan v. Warsaw Community Sch. Corp*., 631 F.2d 1300 (7th Cir. 1980).

42. Arons, S. and Lawrence, C. The Manipulation of Consciousness: A First Amendment Critique of Schooling. 15 *Harvard C.R.C.L. L. Rev.* 309 (1980).

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44. *Supra*, note 47, at 350.

45. Abrams, J. M. and Goodman, S. M. End of an Era? The Decline of Student Press Rights in the Wake of Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier. 1988 *Duke Law Jrl.* 706, 722-723 (1988).

46. *Supra*, note 1, at 265.

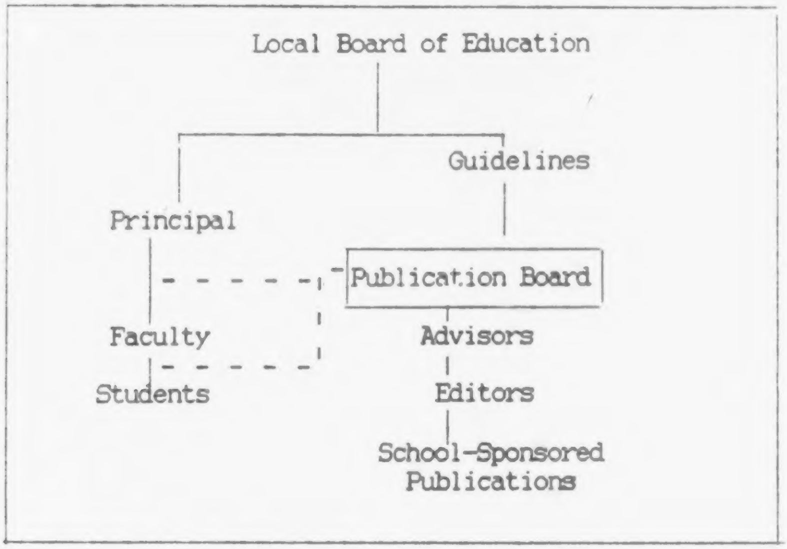
47. Educational Research Service, *Codes of Student Discipline and Student Rights* 1975.

48. California Education Code Section 48906 (1976).

49. *Id.* at 10.

Appendix A

Regulatory Environment for High School Publications Using Inclusive Model


Local Board of Education
Guidelines
Principal
Publication Board
Faculty
Advisors
Students
Editors
School-Sponsored Publications

School Environment

The World at Home:

Geographic Proximity as a Factor in Reading Interest

Robert L. Stevenson

Dulcie M. Straughan

School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of North Carolina
CB 3365 Howell Hall
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3365

Submitted to the International Communication Division,
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication,
meeting in Boston, August, 1991.

The World at Home:

Geographic Proximity as a Factor in Reading Interest

INTRODUCTION

Americans, by almost any standard of comparison, know less about the rest of the world and have less interest in it than people of most other countries, certainly industrialized democratic countries that play a significant role in world affairs. American media, either responding to audience interests, shaping those interests, or both, give less attention to international affairs than news media of most other countries. Even in an age of global communication and global interdependence, the American media and American public seem curiously isolated from the rest of the world.

Do news media merely reflect this circumstance and possibly cater to it, or do they have some responsibility both for creating it and for doing something about it?

In this paper, we consider the evidence supporting the contention of American isolation from the world and review explanations for the lack of international coverage in U.S. news media. We also analyze changes in media coverage that have been proposed -- and, in a few cases, tried -- to overcome public ignorance and apathy. The main part of the paper reports the results of an experiment that tested the influence of geographic proximity on reading interests. The purpose of the experiment was to see whether geographic proximity of a news event -- defined as local, national, international (involving the United States and some other country) or foreign (not involving the United States) -- influenced the likelihood that people would read a set of diverse topics that make up the news.

BACKGROUND

Public knowledge. A recent *Times-Mirror* readership study of Americans' interest in and knowledge of news and events concluded that young adults "know less and care less about news and public affairs than any other generation of Americans in the past 50 years ("Times Mirror...," 1990)." Other reader interest studies over the years have shown that readers' interest in foreign news may be even lower than it is for news about the United States or their own localities (Straughan, 1989; Sparkes and Winter, 1979).

Still other studies have found that reader interest in foreign news may vary depending on the knowledge of and liking for the country involved (McNelly and Izcaray, 1986). Also, some studies have found that individuals who have visited foreign countries are more interested in reading foreign news (Straughan, 1989).

U.S. media have been criticized by foreign and domestic communication scholars alike for what they perceive to be small amounts of foreign news coverage in newspapers and on television.

Media gatekeepers in the United States argue that their job is to give their audiences what they want; they don't think that their audiences are interested in foreign news. According to former foreign correspondent John M. Hamilton, "There is something of an unwritten rule among journalists that local news is news and foreign news is foreign; that people want plenty of the former and will tolerate only small doses of the latter (1985, 14)."

News values. Readers, of course, get to choose from the selection of news made by a series of gatekeepers. These include various editors and reporters along a chain of gates that link events in places very far from the United States with readers in small towns across the country. A host of studies have examined the various factors that could have an impact on news selection by gatekeepers; some have focused on factors external to an event that may affect whether that event is covered by the media (Ahern, 1984; Hester, 1973; Hicks and Gordon, 1974; Kariel and Rosenvall; Nam, 1970; Robinson and Sparkes, 1976). Other studies have analyzed factors intrinsic to an event that could affect why some events are covered and others are not (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Ostgaard, 1965; Peterson, 1979, 1980; Sande, 1971; Sparkes and Winter, 1979).

These are important questions to study. If news coverage of foreign nations is inadequate, and if the audience for foreign news is uninformed and small in number, it can have an impact on how we deal with the world around us, a world that is tied together more closely by improved communication technology, but whose problems are more complex than ever. News media cannot excuse themselves from responsibility for assisting in the development of an informed citizenry.

Intrinsic factors. News values as a topic of research were not studied until the 1950s, when White (1950) examined how a wire service editor selected items from the wire for use in a newspaper. A study that replicated White's 17 years later reached much of the same conclusions: the old news values of timeliness, proximity, prominence and conflict still seemed to play a large role in news selection by media gatekeepers (Snider, 1967).

Much of the news value research has been conducted in Scandinavia (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Ostgaard, 1965; Sande, 1971). Galtung and Ruge state that there a universal news values, such as impact, unusualness and cultural similarity of the event with an audience, that help determine whether an event becomes news. There also are four Western news values: eliteness of nations, conflict, prominence and personal affinity with an event.

Peterson (1979) found that unambiguous, unexpected or timely events were more likely to be perceived as newsworthy by reporters. Events involving elite people or nations also were rated more newsworthy.

A recent study of newspaper editors found that timeliness of an event, U.S. involvement in the event (proximity), and threat to the U.S.(implied conflict) are the most important factors in selecting foreign news to cover (Chang and Lee, 1990).

The presence of certain news values in stories and their impact on reader interest also has been studied, but to a lesser extent. Sparkes and Winter (1979) found that American readers were more interested in stories that involved the United States.

In a reader interest experiment, Straughan (1989) found that respondents were most interested in news items that involved conlict or were proximate. No difference in reader interest was found in items that were timely or involved prominent people.

A study by Hamilton (1986) found that newspaper readers in Richmond, Va., and Hattiesburg, Miss., who read stories that connected developing nations to their locale, expressed a greater interest in reading about developing countries.

Extrinsic factors. A number of extrinsic factors that could have an impact on news selection or reader interest have been studied, but the results have been mixed. Some studies have found that cultural proximity between nations may affect news flow (Robinson and Sparkes, 1976; Hester, 1973), but geographic proximity does not seem to affect the amount of coverage one nation receives in another nation's media (Hicks and Gordon, 1974).

Other studies have focused on economic factors, such as a nation's GNP, or the level of trade among nations as a possible influence on news coverage, but results have been mixed (Ahern, 1984; Hester, 1973; Hicks and Gordon, 1974; Kariel and Rosenvall, 1984).

Other factors that relate to individuals have been studied for their effect on reader interest in foreign news. These factors include knowledge level of nations, familiarity with nations (through visits, knowing someone from a particular country, or knowledge of a foreign nation's language), and overall level of media use. McNelly and Izcaray (1986) found that exposure to news about foreign countries was significantly related to the level of liking of those countries. Exposure to foreign news did not seem to have an impact on an individual's level of knowledge about the foreign countries, however.

Perry and Melson (1989) found that a person's attitude toward a country did not seem to be affected by exposure or attention to foreign news. In a reader interest study by Straughan (1989), findings showed that people who had visited foreign countries reported a higher level of interest in reading foreign news than did those people who had not been abroad, but the difference was not signficant.

These findings lead to a consideration of what -- if anything -- news reporters and editors can do to increase interest in reading about other countries. In this study, we focus on what gatekeepers outside the mainstream of global journalism can do with the resources available to them. Our main interest is the intersection of Hamilton's work, which argued that the rest of the world can be covered from towns like Hattiesburg and La Crosse, and the readership and news values studies that treat geographic proximity as a criterion for news selection or readership.

What previous research and practice tend to ignore is that geographic proximity is always crossed with a type of content. Editors and readers don't deal with "foreign news" vs. local or national news but with sports, economics, politics, human interest topics, etc., as defined by a local, national or foreign geographic perspective. Hamilton's argument is that topics usually considered "foreign" can be covered by adding a local perspective. His examples include a wide range of content, from economics to politics to human interest.

Readership studies that define "foreign news" as a category omit the dimension that foreign news (or local or national news) must be about something. Foreign news is about politics or economics or human interest, just as local news or national news is also about a specific topic. From previous research, we know something about the gatekeeping decisions that editors make and the reading decisions that readers make, but we don't know how the element of geographic proximity interacts with subject matter. We don't know whether geographic proximity influences reader interest in all or only some types of stories or whether certain levels of proximity -- national vs. local, whether the

United States is involved in events outside the country, for example -- have greater impact on readers than others.

Our purpose in this experiment is to find out the answers to these questions. We are interested in the effect on likely readership of different levels of geographic proximity across a range of news content topics.

METHOD

The influence of geographic proximity on interest in news was tested in a simple 4x8 posttest-only experiment, using 165 students from two universities in the Southeast as subjects. Geographic proxmity, the independent variable, was operationalized into four levels: (1) your local area, (2) the United States, (3) the United States and other countries and (4) other countries.

The difference between level three and level four distinguishes between what we have called "international," that is, involving the United States and another country, and "foreign," or involving only another country (Stevenson et al., 1989). It avoids the problem inherent in studies of international/foreign news of deciding whether the relevant distinction is geographic or substantive. If "foreign news" is defined by dateline, any story about U.S. troops in Saudia Arabia would be foreign, even if the focus or context were domestic. On the other hand, any story about the war datelined in Washington or New York would be domestic. Failure to distinguish between "international" and "foreign" explains the large disparities in claims about how much attention media give to "foreign coverage" (Cf. Stevenson and Shaw, 1984, Emery, 1989). The distinction is also the basis of the journalistic cliches -- untrue, according to readership surveys -- that all news is local or that readers are only interested in local affairs and the Sigma Delta Chi project based them that encourages smaller papers to report the world from their own towns (Hamilton, 1986).

For the experiment, we identified eight general categories of news: (1) sports, (2) economics and business, (3) politics, (4) accidents and disasters, (5) ordinary people and how they live, (6) crime and violence, (7) background to important issues and (8) famous or important people. These eight categories were crossed with the four levels of the geographic proximity independent variable to produce combinations such as "sports in your local area," "sports in the United States," "sports involving the United States and other countries" and "sports in other countries."

The combinations were included in four versions of a self-administered questionnaire that included demographic, media use and other items related to contact with and knowledge of other countries. Each subject indicated interest in reading about each of the eight topics crossed with a geographic proximity category. The instructions were:

> Here are different stories that often appear in the newspapers or magazines. Indicate how interested you would be in reading each type of story. Use a scale of

> 0 to 10 where 0 means you definitely would not want to read and 10 means you definitely would want to read. You can also use anuy number between 0 and 10 to indicate your level of interest.

This "reading interest" technique has been validated as an accurate predictor of actual reading behavior, both domestically and in other cultures (Haskins, 1960; Stevenson, 1973), and produces enough variance that standard statistical procedures such as analysis of variance (ANOVA) are practical. In this case, we treated each of the eight news items as a separate, simple experiment with one-way ANOVA as the analytical method, rather than using MANOVA to analyze them simultaneously. Demographic, media use and items related to international experience were included in the anlaysis as covariates but failed to add to the variance explained and were dropped.

The questionnaires were distributed in two undergraduate journalism classes and filled out in class. During the debriefing after the experiment, it appeared that few, if any, of the students detected the manipulation.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the results of the experiment and the outcomes of the ANOVA tests. Any time one repeats an experiment over a variety of settings designed to represent as broad a test as possible, inconsistent results are almost certain. This is true in this experiment, although some patterns are apparent.

Table 1 about here

The column showing the overall means of reading interest indicates what undergraduates in two schools are interested in reading. The results probably would not be much different if the sample were more representative of the general population. The highest-interest category is "accidents and disasters," followed by "background to important issues" and "famous or important people." Of least interest are stories about "economics and business," "ordinary people and how they live" and, perhaps surprisingly, "sports." Sports, of course, is of high interest to most men but of little interest to most women. As a result -- and contrary to what many editors believe -- sports information rates relatively low in reader interest.

Students, like their elders, seem to prefer a little about disruption, a little about celebrities, a little about the background to the headlines. With the typical media diet, this is probably what they get.

Of course, our main interest -- and one that is not affected by the use of students as subjects -- is the influence of geographic proximity on interest in reading about these eight diverse topics. The ANOVAs produce a split finding. In exactly half of the eight topics -- sports, politics, accidents and disasters and crime and violence -- geographic proximity is a significant factor. In the other four, it is not, although in some categories, differences in mean reading interest in different levels of the independent variable are substantial. The independent variable of geographic proximity accounts for zero to 22% of the variance in reading interest.

In five of the eight tests, the "foreign" version of the story was the least-interesting. Only in stories about ordinary and famous people was the version not linked to the United States of greater interest than other combinations and only in these two was the mean of the "foreign" version above the overall mean. In the news background category, the "foreign" version was rated slightly behind "international" but below the overall mean.

In all cases except one -- news about famous or important people -- the international news condition, which tied the content to some involvement with the United States, was rated higher than the foreign condition. In half of the eight content categories, the local or national condition was rated the highest.

DISCUSSION

Most editors begin with the assumption that most readers are not very interested in what takes place outside of the country or even the local area. Hamilton, too, accepts that as the premise of his argument that the Third World can be covered from La Crosse, Wisconsin, or Richmond, Virginia. Most editors also operate from the assumption that readers tend to be more interested in frivolous (but dramatic) events than in the serious (but unspectacular) events that change the world's political and economic structure. These assumptions conspire against editors -- especially those in smaller markets -- who want to provide more and better coverage of international affairs.

On the whole, this experiment supports these assumptions, but not entirely. Assuming that the student-subjects are pretty much like their parents who are pretty much like people across the country, news interests run to the dramatic and celebrated. But beyond that, there is a particularly strong interest in background information about important issues and information about important people. This could be taken, since the experiment referred specifically to stories appearing in newspapers and magazines, as an interest in making sense of the pictures and headlines people see on television.

Newspapers, of course, claim they do that, but they don't very often and don't do a very good job. Instead of competing with a medium to which they will always come in second in speed and drama, perhaps editors should take seriously the common plea that they should try to complement (not compete) with the electronic media. This is particularly important in international and foreign news where the alternative -- and only competition -- to local newspapers is network television, which provides the pictures but seldom the background and context.

The data from the experiment suggest some areas where the print media can fill a particular need. In three content areas -

- ordinary people and how they live, famous or important people and background to important issues -- "foreign" news rated as the highest or second-highest level of interest among the four levels of geographic proximity. This kind of coverage -- background, perspective on events -- is exactly what critics of the Western media have claimed is lacking. The subjects in the experiment seem to confirm that they would like to get more of this kind of information from newspapers and magazines to supplement what they see on television. Very few people outside of the handful of major metropolitan areas have access to the few national or reginal dailies that do try to cover the world. For most of us, the world is glimpsed quickly through television's eye and repeated almost as cursorily in a regional or local daily.

With two exceptions where foreign news is rated as most interesting -- ordinary people and how they live and famous or important people -- a linkage to the United States increases reader interest. In some cases, the difference between the "foreign" and "international" condition is striking. This tends to support the argument that adding some kind of national angle to global events increases reader interest. While the argument could be made that this caters to an ethnocentrism that should be resisted, the counterargument is persuasive. In an interdependent global economy and polity, what happens in Africa or the Middle East does have an effect in Mississippi, Wisconsin and Virginia; reporting it that way is neither ethnocentric nor inappropriate, especially if it helps readers in those states to understand the links.

Finally, the numbers in Table 1 can be taken as loose guidelines for editors:

1. In news about economics/business, lives of ordinary people, background to events and famous and important people, geographic proximity is relatively unimportant. Let television have the pictures and the headlines; use your columns for background and perspective, especially for events outside the United States, with or without an American connection.

2. Don't fall for the old cliche that readers don't care about the rest of the world. Believe your readership studies but remember that most people don't know much about other countries. Help them by concentrating on background, explanation, context. Maps and new graphics may help, but television will always be there first.

3. In most topics, a national or local link increases reader interest. It is not ethnocentric to see the world through national or local eyes. Your readers do.

4. No news medium can serve the interests of everyone in a community. Regular readers are the best educated and most interested half of the community. Cater to them, their knowledge, their interests.

5. New residents, especially recent immigrants, may be especially interested in international news. Remember them as news sources when you cover the world from your own town and consider them as potential regular readers, if you find out who they are and what they're interested in.

Table 1. Reading Interest by Geographic Proximity.

News:	Local	Natl	Intl	Forgn	Total	p	Eta
Sports	6.12	6.32	6.29	4.12	5.77	.00	.29
Business/ economics	5.22	5.50	5.07	4.62	5.11	.45	.13
Politics	6.50	6.48	7.85	6.24	6.76	.00	.29
Accidents/ disasters	8.75	7.40	7.83	6.15	7.55	.00	.47
Ordinary people	5.38	5.57	5.49	5.78	5.56	.89	.06
Crime/ violence	7.73	7.17	7.05	5.92	6.99	.00	.30
Background	6.93	6.73	7.80	6.98	7.12	.13	.18
Famous/important people	7.15	7.26	6.83	7.33	7.15	.71	.09

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EXPLORING NEW DIRECTIONS FOR JOURNALISM EDUCATION: THE PROGRAM AT ITHACA COLLEGE

by

John L. Hochheimer
Roy H. Park School of Communications
Ithaca College
Ithaca, New York 14850
(607) 274-3242

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the practice of journalism education which has constrained students, leaving many of them ill-prepared professionally. The paper then describes a new journalism program being prepared at Ithaca College. This program involves replacing a hierarchical model of education with a more "dialogic" approach, demonstrating ways in which students can become active participants in their own education.

Paper presented to the session on Pedagogy and Political Activism, Qualitative Studies Division, annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, Mass., August, 1991.

> "(I)t can be shown...that with all the harmonious belonging and all the tidying up of background conditions that you please, our abundant society is at present simply deficient in many of the most elementary objective opportunities and worth-while goals that could make growing up possible. It is lacking in enough man's work. It is lacking in honest public speech, and people are not taken seriously. It is lacking in the opportunity to be useful. It thwarts aptitude and creates stupidity. It corrupts ingenuous patriotism. It corrupts the fine arts. It shackles science. It dampens animal ardor. It discourages religious convictions of Justification and Vocation and it dims the sense that there is a Creation. It has no Honor. It has no Community." (Paul Goodman)[1]

> "If you hate violence and don't believe in politics, the only major remedy remaining is education. Perhaps society is past praying for, but there is always hope for the individual human being, if you catch him young enough." (George Orwell)[2]

The first day of a broadcast journalism course, a 19-year old male student is asked what he hopes to study. He replies that he looks forward to learning about how to be a sportscaster, because all he has ever been interested in has been sports. He says he never follows other current events, because, "politics doesn't interest me at all." Sixteen weeks later he is part of a team of four students which produces a 29-minute documentary on the plight of farmers who have been driven from their land due to a major economic crisis in agriculture. A major part of their work is an extended discussion by farm families about how they have contemplated suicide to relieve their plight. The documentary wins awards from broadcast news organizations, and is distributed throughout the United States by farmer activist organizations.

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[1] Paul Goodman (1960) Growing Up Absurd. New York: Vintage Books, p. 12.

[2] George Orwell (1939 in 1954) "Charles Dickens." In A Collection of Essays by George Orwell. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books.

A 20-year old woman tells her classmates on the first day of a new semester that she is contemplating broadcast journalism as a profession, but that she is apprehensive about interviewing strangers. Fifteen weeks later she and a 19-year old fellow student produce a 30-minute radio documentary on childhood sexual abuse that incorporates the words and experiences of abuse

> "If you train (journalists) for the first day on the job, they're out of date on the first day on the job...you ought to be training them to think and to evaluate and to analyze and to question, train them to challenge their own assumptions about the world in which they live, and the whole notion of what the role is of communication in society" (Fancher, 1990).

Journalism education, like journalism itself, is undergoing a major re-examination of its premises and its practice. As the nature of the news, and the industries which record, produce, and transmit it to the public are changing, so, too, must the approaches of educators, as well as their interactions with their students.

Many authors have been calling for the recognition that learning the practice of journalism cannot be severed from its critical analysis (e.g., Bruck, 1985; Downing, Mohammadi, and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1990; Goldman, 1990; Hochheimer, in press; Nerone, 1990; Schulman, 1991). Journalism education in the United States has regularly been decried by luminaries in the industry as being of little value for teaching students what they need to know to work for them. Standard journalism education teaches students to stand apart from the world, to observe and to report on it, but not to participate in it (Hochheimer, 1990).

Students have learned that to succeed as journalists often means to accept the world on the terms set by others, rather than to interact with the world on their own.[1] They see models for professional journalism all around them which they seek to imitate. They see televised news produced by an industry where high praise is given to people who look good or project well on camera, where a deep, well-modulated voice is often considered more credible than is a well-written, well-researched, well-contextualized presentation of information (Ellerbee, 1986). They hear news on the radio produced primarily as filler between the hit records and advertising jingles. They read newspapers that have placed a "naive" description of "objective" reality as the highest goal to be attained (See: Carey, 1987), even as this objectivity promotes the interests of the powerful, that is, government and big business.[8] They recognize the financial squeeze on news departments mandated by top management tears many questions of journalistic excellence, much less audience understanding of the issues of the day, asunder.[9]

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[1] As Max Weber (1921 in 1958) observed, the journalist's lot is a precarious one, balanced between peerage with a society's powerful, yet condemned to the hostility and suspicion reserved for the outsider. More recently, it is the individual reporter who may be esteemed, whereas "the media" in general tend to be more highly suspect for misusing its power for economic or ideological ends. See White (1989).

Moreover, half the independent television stations and more than 20 per cent of U.S. public radio stations (along with some network-affiliated tv and commercial radio stations) have no news operations at all, or have significantly scaled back their news operations recently (McKean and Stone, 1991), making for an ever-tightening job market. A survey by the National Association of Broadcasters of 1987 journalism and mass communication bachelor's degree recipients, for example, found that almost half did not find jobs in media-related industries upon graduation. Among those who majored in a news/editorial or broadcast sequence, fewer than half went into newspaper, wire service, or radio-tv employment after college (National Association of Broadcasters, 1989).*

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[8] See, for example, Hartley (1982); Hertsgaard (1988); Kern, Levering, and Levering (1983); Lapham (1989); and Liebling (1975), among many others.

[9] Robins (1989). Buddy Ray, the general manager of WTVG in Toledo, Ohio, says that recently televised local news "is more of a business. We have to keep a closer watch on the financial side." This has led to massive personnel cutbacks which have affected the quality of local news coverage. Chapin Day, a KGO (San Francisco) assignment editor,...has seen his news department staff cut by 20 percent between 1986 and 1989. He says, "(a) producer doesn't have the time he did in the past to carefully consider a story. There's not sufficient planning--not sufficient time to do stories. Too often people aren't getting that time when they say, 'Hey, I have a great story. I need two days to report it and two days to shoot it'" (43-44).

The skills with which graduating seniors were prepared to meet the world were narrowly focused upon those imagined useful to an industry unwilling or unable to utilize what they had been trained for. To merely teach the basics necessary for entry-levels jobs is to waste the resources and talents of most students, by making their skills obsolete on the day they begin their professional careers (Fancher, 1990).

To do this in order to propagate an information delivery system geared more toward the financial needs of broadcasters (Robins, 1989; Hartley, 1982) and publishers than it is to the needs of viewers, listeners, and readers (See, especially,

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*Additionally, a survey of a large school of communication showed that, in a graduating class of more than 300, more than 90 percent of journalism and mass communication graduates went elsewhere upon graduation, and that only eight percent went into such entry level reporting jobs (Task Force on the Future of Journalism and Mass Communication Education, 1989, p. A-5).

Hertsgaard, 1988; Liebling, 1975; Hartley, 1982) further keeps them from realizing their potential. For a large number of students, therefore, the focus of their post-secondary education has been so narrowly defined as to be marginally useful to them professionally, as well it denies them a critical foundation upon which to attempt to engage media or the world in which they live on their own terms. This approach to journalism education is an example of a curriculum based on the needs and interests of powerful institutions, rather than the needs and interests of students.

It is vital to consider how a new journalism program can be constructed, positing itself more to the potential needs of its students who will be active participants in society, rather than solely to the imagined needs of industry. As Schulman (1991) suggests, this can be done by an active integration of theory and practice. Curricula can be designed which acknowledges the necessity of abstraction formed from concrete interaction with the world (p. 2). Students learn and practice their skills during active engagement with the world outside the classroom.

Such theory-driven practice has been difficult in traditionally-constituted journalism programs.[5] The typical journalism school curriculum has been widely criticized for the following deficiencies:

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[5] Because of the standards for accreditation established nationwide by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC), the curricula of undergraduate journalism programs have, for the past 50 years, varied little from institution to institution.

1. **Placing too little emphasis on the development of writing skills.**

Students are typically trained through various series of textbook exercises. While these are good at teaching formulaic approaches to the description of events, they are inadequate to allow students to relate the human experience through a variety of expository styles. Some of the best professional journalists come from English and literature programs (or other Liberal Arts areas) in college, where expository writing skills are stressed. By focusing narrowly on writing skills necessary for entry-level reporters, the more traditional journalism programs unnecessarily constrain their students to follow basic newswriting formulae.

2. **Placing too much emphasis on training for media machinery and too little on educating thoughtful critics and consumers of the media.**

Learning to styles of presentation currently in vogue (and to the equipment) as ends in themselves, rather than as tools for expression, necessarily stultifies the growth and, ultimately, the creative capacity of the people who use them. The vocational emphasis of such programs does not provide students with a sufficiently wide range of options to allow them to grow after they leave school. This works to the disadvantage not only of the men and women who seek to learn, but also to the industries and to the society which seek to benefit from the fruits of their learning.

3. **Allowing students to neglect their liberal arts courses in favor of professional courses, so that they graduate with a reasonable skill in communicating without having much of substance to communicate.**

ACEJMC mandates a 75/25 percent split in the number of Liberal Arts/Journalism courses students are allowed to take. At Ithaca College, we find this to be too restrictive, in that the mandated Liberal Arts courses must be taken outside the Park School of Communications. This limits communications almost exclusively to laboratory courses, overlooking the many courses offered in the critical and ethical studies of communication offered by the School's faculty. Thus, the AEJMC mandate fails to recognize the modern structure of communication theory and practice the School offers.

4. Journalism programs typically focus on the entry-level needs of U.S. communications industries, rather than on the needs of students.

The 1989 report of the Task Force on the Future of Journalism and Mass Communication Education focused on the need to supplement journalism skills courses with the needs of industry, stating "the close association between Journalism and Mass Communication (JMC) Education and the communication professions is worth preserving and strengthening" (Task Force on the Future of Journalism and Mass Communication Education, 1989, p. A-3).*

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*"There are at least four desired outcomes for a JMC major...A well-prepared graduate will possess (1) a set of field-related skills; (2) a broad education grounded in the liberal arts; (3) a value-system that emphasizes public service; and (4) the ability to integrate these things 'in relation to life and work in the world.'

Not surprisingly, these broad outcomes correspond nicely with our present theory of JMC curricula. We seek to prepare students by

A critical understanding of the industries and their norms, or critical methods of expression which break through or beyond the norms of the commercial communications industries are given little consideration within the guidelines. Neither are the personal or professional needs (in terms of growth and the potential long-term career options) of students. A new direction for journalism education needs to answer these criticisms directly. The journalism program at Ithaca College is designed to do so:

1. **The development of writing skills is emphasized in both the journalism courses and other writing courses required of all journalism majors.**

The most important journalistic skills -- gathering information quickly from many sources, resolving conflicting accounts of events, integrating opposing points of view, producing a coherent, easily understood, and comprehensive account of the issues involved, all while working on a tight deadline -- will be skills that students can use wherever they go. This is why reporting and writing skills are so important.

Students must also be at ease expressing themselves in a variety of formats. The more variety they have had in their educational experience, the more they will be able to move laterally in responding to the needs of a changing professional environment.

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putting them through skills courses with an emphasis on liberal arts; by providing a context in which to make decisions (history, law, ethics, economics of the media, etc.); and by helping them see how these things fit together in a pattern (albeit a shifting one) that will be useful in the "real world" (p. A-4).

2. **The education of thoughtful critics and consumers of media is emphasized in the Critical Media Studies component of the program.**

Students need to develop not only a voice, but also a critical understanding of the major issues of their times in order to be effective. They must have "something to say," in addition to the ability to say it. The journalistic world is full of people who are technically proficient but who have little depth in any area they cover. A program which teaches only skills and courses about media industries can graduate students who are ill-equipped to understand the stories they are covering.

The program provides a small number of courses emphasizing critical analyses of media content and industry structure. This allows students to learn and to practice the necessary skills of conceptualizing and synthesizing ideas from multiple perspectives. This is especially important, since the ability to synthesize is fundamental to the development of judgment and for the application of learning to real-life situations (Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in Higher Education, 1984).

3. **Journalism majors are required to develop a second area of expertise, usually in politics, economics, history, or literature.**

By requiring that our students develop a second subject area, we can help them begin to establish a non-skills based area of expertise. This also allows students to pursue other interests (indeed, if they have none, what kinds of journalists would they make?). Some of the best journalists come not from any established journalism program, but rather from economics, history or politics. The program teaches students how to write the news, but also to understand some of the issues they are covering with a high level of sophistication.

Usually, the second areas are structured from existing minors throughout the College. A number of chairpersons from these departments have indicated that they would like to develop special minors especially tailored to the needs and interests of journalism students. Yet, individual interests are supported. Students retain the option of designing a self-created second subject area to cater to such interests.

4. **A dynamic new journalism program must be more international in focus.**

With major change in international economic and political systems almost a given in the 1990's and beyond, older curricula assuming the dominance of U.S. business and journalistic practice are changing. With the preeminence of the United States in decline, the citizens of the 21st Century must be more knowledgeable about international events than ever before. And, with the growing dominance of multi-national ownership of mass media, journalism graduates will no longer compete only with others from Syracuse or North Carolina...The graduate of tomorrow will have to compete with people from Rome, Paris, Budapest, or Tokyo -- all of whom are multi-lingual.

All other factors being equal, therefore, a multi-lingual person will have a greater advantage than will one who is facile only in English. The need to master a second language, as well as to learn about another culture, is vital. It is imperative that journalism students begin to master a second language prior to graduation. We plan that each student have a minimum of two years (12 semester hours, or its equivalent) in a modern language of her/his own choosing.

In sum, the areas of emphasis for the Journalism Major are well-grounded in industry and scholarly writing. They attempt to meet the needs of young men and women who seek to be competitive in the changing world of the 1990's and beyond. The challenge for a new journalism program is how to break both the students and the teacher out of the educational bind of the more traditional approach which, we find, serves the interests of neither. Both students and faculty need to engage in a critical dialogue about the forms and content of news, as well as with the ways in which sources of information can be utilized. Students must come to understand that the practice of journalism is not disengaged reporting about the world, but rather the active engagement with it.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

The Journalism major at Ithaca College is divided into seven course areas, to correspond to the areas in which journalism students should be proficient. These seven course areas -- Communication Core, Journalism Foundation and Concentration, Critical Media Studies, Writing, Second Subject Area, Modern Language, and Electives -- are designed to teach students how to conduct coherent and probing inquiry, to propose, analyze, and evaluate strategy, and to express themselves in both oral and written form with precision, clarity, and vigor.

1). The **COMMUNICATION CORE** courses provide a foundation and overview of the history, law, ethics, and processes of mass communication.

2). The **JOURNALISM FOUNDATION AND CONCENTRATION** courses comprise the heart of journalism studies at Ithaca College. They provide sufficient flexibility for students to concentrate in print, broadcast, or photo journalism. A new course, "Introduction to Journalism," provides a necessary foundation from which all subsequent journalism work will grow. This course would also serve students from around the campus who are considering this subject area as a major or minor field. The production course sequence ends with a choice from three capstone courses, within which students are expected to produce professional-quality work for public consumption, such as publishable articles, regular news and public affairs program series, and so forth.

3). **CRITICAL MEDIA STUDIES** courses allow students the opportunities to see their work in wider contexts than the needs of industry. An Alternative Media course, for example, examines the social, cultural and political contexts within which non-mainstream media technologies exist, based on theoretical, historical, and present-day materials. A seminar called "Issues and the News" provides a critical examination of both the social, political, and economic issues of the times, as well as the ways in which the various media around the world present such issues.

4). Central to the journalism program must be a conscious blending of writing, journalism skills courses, Writing, a comprehensive subject area outside of journalism, and **WRITING**. Most professionals in print or electronic journalism, almost every reporter of any renown, and almost every advertising, public relations, magazine, television, radio, or other media person who has made a mark for him or herself has argued strongly that graduating students need as many writing courses, as much writing experience, and as much ability to express themselves clearly and concisely as possible. Such writing courses are to be distinct from reporting, copy editing, layout/design classes, or broadcast journalism skills classes. The more writing we allow our students to do in the process of their education, the better it will be for them.

The program requires a minimum of three writing courses (9 hours) over and above what is offered in the School of Communications. For students who want to emphasize print journalism, four courses from the Writing Program are required. The focus is upon honing their writing skills in a variety of areas. Between these and the writing classes they will be taking in the Journalism Program, students will be required to take between six and nine writing classes to qualify for their degree. This can only help them no matter what directions they choose to go upon graduation. Many students may be scared away by writing classes, but if this skill is not emphasized sufficiently, those people who are serious about journalism as an academic pursuit or a career will be cheated. Those who pursue other careers will benefit from writing in a variety of formats.

5). **SECOND SUBJECT AREA** -- Many departments in the Ithaca College School of Humanities and Sciences offer minors that would be open to our students. Each of these has an internal logic which has been established by the faculties of the respective departments. Some students might benefit from a self-created second subject area, such as combining French language with international business, French history and art. The journalism major contains the flexibility to allow students this option on a case-by-case basis (in consultation with their advisor) as needs be. The second subject area should be seen as a way of structuring electives to fit student interests and strengths, rather than as a mandate to take specifically required courses.

6). **MODERN LANGUAGE** -- As the United States loses its dominance in the world economy, the citizens of the 21st Century will have to work in a more interdependent world. This situation will require an increased understanding of the international ramifications of news events, and a greater need for journalists to speak more than one language. Students who now compete in the job market with peers from Syracuse University or the University of Maryland will find themselves vying for jobs with people from Holland, Germany and France. Students overseas may well be fluent in a number of languages; our students will find themselves at a competitive disadvantage if they speak only English.

In view of the ongoing globalization of the news profession, all journalism majors at Ithaca College are required to demonstrate a modern language proficiency up to and including the intermediate level.

7). There is also room for individual exploration, which is where **ELECTIVES** fit in. This proposed program might seem to offer little flexibility in terms of electives. However, the Second Subject Area should also be seen as a set of electives, tailored to the needs and interests of individuals. It provides a structure within which students may pursue alternative interests.

All Journalism majors begin by taking four core courses: Introduction to Mass Media; Ethical Issues in Mass Communication; History of United States Mass Media; and Government and Media. Students are also required to take three additional journalism foundation courses: Introduction to Journalism; Journalism Research; and News Reporting and Writing.

The concentrations are structured subject areas that both encompass students' professional needs and build upon areas of strength within the Park School of Communications: Broadcast Journalism, Print Journalism, and Photo Journalism.

BROADCAST JOURNALISM CONCENTRATION

The Broadcast Journalism concentration grounds students in the theory and practice of radio and television news. Our goal is to prepare these students for the reality of electronic journalism as it exists today, while at the same time educating them for future changes in this rapidly developing field.

Students who select Broadcast Journalism will start to specialize in the specifics of radio and television news in two courses. Seniors will conclude their required courses with a pair of workshops, Radio Journalism Workshop and Television Journalism Workshop, which put into practice the principles addressed in virtually all the previous course work. Radio Journalism Workshop gives students the opportunity to produce and air an investigative radio news and public affairs program, emphasizing long-form reporting and substantive subject matter. Television Journalism Workshop offers a similar arrangement for television. In each case, students will face the challenge of not only reporting for broadcast media, but also producing live programming built around their work as journalists. Writing ability will be a particularly important factor in both these capstone courses.

The sequence of courses, beginning in the first year with a general introduction to mass media principles and ending in the fourth with advanced on-air news magazine productions, gives the student concentrating in broadcast journalism a thorough, well-rounded background in the theory and practice of electronic news.

PRINT JOURNALISM CONCENTRATION

The Print Journalism concentration grounds students in the theory and practice of newspaper and magazine journalism. Our goal is not only to ensure that students develop the skills that will equip them to report and edit for newspapers and magazines, but also to ensure that they have an understanding of the history of the American press, journalism ethics, and the role of the print news media in this society.

Having laid a firm groundwork in their foundation courses, students who have chosen the Print Journalism concentration then move on to developing their reporting and writing skills in a series of four more specialized courses: News Editing; Feature Writing for Newspapers; and Advanced Projects in Print Journalism, a capstone course in which they demonstrate their ability to research and write a series of investigative articles, feature stories, or op-ed articles for newspapers.

Journalists bring a variety of experiences and strengths into their work, from humorists (James Thurber or Russell Baker), novelists (Ernest Hemingway, George Orwell), or essayists (E.B. White, John McPhee), to poets, playwrights, and critics. Print Journalism students will be required to work in a variety of styles in order to contribute to the discipline of becoming a writer. Since students will be urged to explore different means of written expression as each discovers his/her own "voice," those enrolled in the Print Journalism Concentration will be asked to choose two courses from the many advanced courses offered in the Writing Program.

Those courses, in conjunction with the second subject area concentration required of all journalism majors, the modern language requirement, the critical media studies component and electives, are intended not only to prepare print journalism majors for their first media job, but also to equip them to think creatively about their trade throughout their careers.

PHOTO JOURNALISM CONCENTRATION

The Photo Journalism concentration grounds students in the theory and practice of making photographs for newspapers and magazines. Our goal is to ensure that students develop an understanding of the stylistic, aesthetic and ethical factors involved in the communication of information through photography. This goal is accomplished by vigorous analysis of both historical and current trends in photo journalism and documentary photography. In addition, the students will acquire skills that will enable them to produce competent images in a variety of technically demanding situations.

Once the foundation courses have been taken, students will go on to take the following sequence of courses: Introduction to Photography; Intermediate Photography; Documentary Photography; Photo Journalism; and Photography Workshop, a capstone production course in which students pursue projects designed to fit the individual's background and interests with the goal of producing portfolio-quality work.

The Photo Journalism curriculum, taken in conjunction with the other courses required of the journalism major, will ensure that the photo journalist receives an education that is both thorough and diverse. Students committed to Photo Journalism will emerge with an understanding of the multidisciplinary demands of the area, and they will possess the intellectual and technical skills necessary to execute their craft.

Conclusion

This is, admittedly, a broad-ranging, comprehensive major, with 45-48 hours of coursework required within the Roy H. Park School of Communications. The Writing requirement mandates an additional 9-12 hours of courses, and the Second Subject Area will require 18-22 hours more. Although this may seem to be a daunting array of requirements to get through, these seven course areas will provide our students a unique combination of rigor and flexibility.

Many of the leading figures in the broadcast and print journalism industries have continually advised students NOT to obtain their undergraduate degrees in journalism because, they say, in such programs students are being taught outmoded skills and ideas fashioned on needs which no longer exist. They advise students to major in English, history, sociology. or politics (See, e.g., Wyatt, 1991).

Therefore, the proposed program is well-grounded in the liberal arts as defined by scholars across a range of disciplines, and professional education as discussed by many people working in the various industries.

Taken together the various skills emphasized in this program are essential not only for journalists, but also for people who are going into law, business, and other professions. A new journalism program must be useful to students with a variety of career and personal goals, since many people who have been majoring in journalism programs have not been going into journalism as a profession. Graduates of the Ithaca College journalism program will be prepared to compete successfully for jobs as reporters, editors, and producers for daily newspapers, wire services, weekly newspapers, magazines, radio news programs, and television news programs. In addition, the program will prepare students for careers in such related areas as free-lance writing, technical writing, public relations, speech writing, history, journalism education, government public affairs, or book publishing and editing. And the new program will be additionally attractive to students who plan to go into law or business school after graduation.

This journalism program is designed to allow students to be active creators of their own education. We see this program as planning for their entire four years of undergraduate education. They are free to pursue their own interests while learning and practicing their critical skills in the world outside the classroom. It is an attempt to create a dialogic pedagogical setting for students and their faculty. They learn to be active participants in their world, rather than passive observers.

The challenge is to provide a structure within which they begin to see themselves as capable of acting, where they can begin to test their own strengths and talents for engaging the world on their own terms. The new Ithaca College journalism program is based on the belief that journalism education involves the engaged process of interaction by people in the comprehension of the major issues of the time, not a formulaic approach to the description of events. Journalism education involves an understanding that human actions are never discrete, but they come as the confluence of culture, history, tradition, codes. Students need to learn how to enter into a dialogue, both with the issues they are covering, and with the readers/listeners/viewers with whom they wish to communicate what they have found. As teachers and students come to share a dialogue to transform themselves through education, so, too, can students enter a dialogue with their sources of information, the subjects of what they are reporting about.

WE plan to create dynamic curricula in which people can understand the dynamics of human communication in people's lives, and how these affect the cultures with which journalists (and, through them, their readers/listeners/viewers) come into contact (Schulman, 1991). Thus, this model of journalism education is a practical attempt to merge Martin Buber's philosophy with a student-centered (rather than industry-centered) pedagogy: it is dialogic journalism education for the future.

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FAD STORIES:

A STUDY OF THE LIFE CYCLE OF TRENDY NEWSPAPER TOPICS

by

Valarie A. Basheda
University of Maryland

Paper submitted to the 1991 Moeller Student Paper Competition
Mass Communication and Society Division
Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication

I: INTRODUCTION

The media ushered in the 1980s with stories about a "new" disease epidemic that threatened to put a kink in the free-wheeling sexual lives of some adult Americans: genital herpes.

The coverage escalated into a national barrage of stories about the venereal disease's symptoms, its chilling effect on sexual liberation, and its ability to evade treatment, topped off with some sufferers' personal and painful ordeals with the nasty virus (Mirotznik and Mosellie, 1986; Wilentz, 1982).

Then, just as shaken Americans feared they could never look at their dates the same way again, the stories stopped. Disappeared. Horrible herpes vanished from the media spotlight, which had since refocused its attention to other topics.

One of those topics was missing children. What again started as a few highly publicized cases about abducted children crescendoed into a national hysteria that plastered children's faces on milk cartons and established a national missing children's center and hotline (Fritz, 1987; Best and Altheide, 1987) until the Denver Post exposed the truth behind the statistics in a series of Pulitzer-prize winning articles (Griego and Kilzer, 1985), showing that the number of children abducted had been overestimated by tens of thousands. Almost immediately, the coverage stopped.

But media across the nation seem to repeat this process time after time. More recently, consumers were spurred to buy oat bran muffins, cereals, pretzels and even oat bran beer after the media reported on the fiber's supposed cholesterol-reducing properties. The oat bran fad diminished, as did newspaper coverage, after a later report (Sacks, 1990) suggested that the wonder fiber did not quite live up to its name.

The media's short attention span on breaking stories is nothing new. After all, part of the definition of "news" is that the story be new. Yet there seems to be another type of story such as herpes, missing children or oat bran, which does not quite fit the definition of breaking news. It seems to burst onto the media scene, receiving steadily increasing coverage as it catches the interest of journalists nationwide with a topic that is frequently lifestyle-related and tugs at reader emotions. The story might seem to be sensationalized or inaccurately reported, and this reporting has an effect on the reading public because of the heavy attention given to the topic. Then, after a period of heavy coverage ranging from several months to several years, the story seems to vanish even though the problem or issue usually remains, perpetuating a misleading picture of reality.

Journalists and editors believe that these characteristics describe a particular media phenomenon, and they have agreed on a name for it: fad stories. Many are quick to name other subjects they think fit the fad story definition: pit bulls, Legionnaire's disease, Retin A, battered wives. Yet journalism research literature offers no study of the phenomenon.

Many theories of communication, however, do touch upon a particular aspect of the fad story concept: from pack journalism to agenda-setting to public opinion research about the "spiral of silence." Critics have said sensational topics are more likely to make news and that selling newspapers is the main business of the news business. Many researchers have talked about the "reality" the media present that bears little resemblance to the actual events it supposedly mimics, or accused the media of manufacturing stories and producing exaggerated and sensational articles.

Social science research has offered insight into the fad story concept by examining how specific social problems suddenly became a focus of national attention when the particular malady had existed for years, and some social scientists have linked the media to the rise of social problems as part of a national cyclical process. The life cycle of these social problems followed a bell-shaped curve (Downs, 1972).

Because many research findings point to the existence of a fad story phenomenon, the purpose of this paper will be to explore the concept in four areas:

1. To define fad stories. What are their characteristics, and what type of story is a likely candidate to become a fad story?

2. To compare the life cycle of three suggested fad stories - genital herpes, missing children and oat bran - with Downs' theory. Do they mimic the bell-shaped life cycle curve as suggested by Downs social problems research?

3. To trace their life cycle, first in a general context, and then by looking at the three specific topics. How do they emerge and recede in the media? Do they appear by chance, or are they the handiwork of media-savvy public relations professionals and special interest groups?

4. To determine their legitimacy by looking again at the three topics. Are these stories, as some suggest, sensationalized and inaccurate? If so, why and how does that happen?

Through this study, I hope to provide valuable insight into what seems to be a common media practice, but one that has yet to be formally defined. Because of the nationwide collective attention given to these topics, these stories had a definite impact on the reading public. Were there instances where the media hoodwinked the public into believing there was a missing children scare, frightened them with reports of a herpes epidemic, or spurred them to buy oat bran, without completely checking whether it was true or not?

II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although research in journalism has not addressed fad stories, many theories of communication, journalism studies and social science studies do offer evidence for the concept. Yet some journalists have argued that the stories discussed in this study are not fads, they simply reflect topics which fit the definition of news.

Certainly, the human interest subjects cited by some journalists as fad stories fit any standard textbook definition of news values, and researchers have noted that human interest and "soft news" stories have gained increasing popularity (Fedler, 1989). Yet fad stories cannot be equated with other stories for several reasons: they receive a heavy amount of media coverage nationwide even though they are not tied to breaking news events; the national attention given to the stories had a measurable impact on the reading public; the problem or issue in question continued to exist after the story faded from the media.

What this study will show is that not only do fad stories exist, but also that their existence comes about through a complex interweaving of social and media phenomenon that also reflects the changing nature of news. This concept is explained in part by communication studies which fall under several different categories: agenda-setting research, research into what makes something news, studies about pack journalism, articles about story image-versus-reality, and social science studies about the rise and fall of social problems.

The fad story concept falls under the realm of agenda-setting studies, or the idea that media tell people what to think about (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Newspaper agendas have been related to community attitude (Jeffries, et. al, 1987); increased newspaper coverage has led to greater public concern about an issue (Smith, 1987); and television has spurred the public and policy makers to change public policy (Cook and Tyler, 1983).

Many researchers have examined constraints affecting the news gathering process which create conditions that could lead to fad stories, such as time and deadline impositions which hamper accurate reporting; a reporter's reliance on institutional sources (Epstein, 1973; Molotch and Lester, 1974; Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980); and stylistic norms which encourage reporters to use the most sensational aspect of a story to hook the reader's attention (Gans, 1979). The force driving the media has been labeled a "display-attention" model, which says its sole purpose is to keep and attract an audience (Elliot, 1972), particularly in an era of declining newspaper circulation (Bagdikian, 1987).

Pack journalism studies have shown how reporters covering any event en masse, particularly political campaigns or scientific meetings, consulted with one another after news events to share information and determine the story's angle (Crouse, 1972; Tunstall, 1971; Lore, 1985). Editors, producers and reporters have been found to frequently read and discuss national newspapers and wire stories to identify trends or look for story ideas (Tuchman, 1972; Epstein, 1973; Weiss, 1988; Gans, 1979). Journalists follow this practice so they do not have to risk their news judgment; they are confident a story has bona fide news value and is safe to run in their newspapers once it runs in a major daily (Gans, 1979: Jensen, 1986; Rock, 1973). The "spiral of silence" theory has confirmed that people are more likely to follow a consensus opinion because they fear isolation from the majority (Noelle-Neumann, 1973).

Many theories have backed the idea that newspapers cater to sensational stories, no matter how true they are (Von Hoffman, 1985), or that news does not reflect an accurate picture of reality (Lippmann, 1922; Gans, 1979; Epstein, 1973). Science journalism researchers have accused the media of sins ranging from too readily printing "gee-whiz" miracle-cure puff pieces to publishing near-lies that could have been avoided with some critical reporting (Nelkin, 1985 and 1987; Franklin, 1986; Freedman, 1986; Singer and Endreny, 1987; Pfund and Hofstadter, 1981). Journalists have exaggerated certain hazards, choosing those that are rare, dramatic and newsworthy (Singer and Endreny, 1987), usually in hopes of getting them in the newspaper with good play (McCall, 1988). Scientists have also been known to exaggerate claims in hopes of getting research funding for their projects (McCall, 1988; Nelkin, 1987).

On some specific topics, medical professionals and critics have blamed the media for overstating the genital herpes scare with coverage that was sensational and inaccurate, and accused them of creating a "herpes hysteria" (Adler and Mindel, 1983; Wilentz, 1982; Mirotznik and Mosellie, 1986).

Reporters flamed the alleged missing children's scare of the 1980s into a national obsession even though the numbers of kidnapped children had not increased when the stories broke (Best, 1987, Fritz and Altheide, 1987).

In 1976, the New York media blitzed the city with headlines about a crime wave against the elderly that never existed but was started by police who wanted funding for a senior citizen's crime fighting unit (Fishman, 1976).

Some social scientists have shown how the media "discover" a social problem, such as child abuse, battered wives or the deteriorating environment, even though the problem existed long before journalists brought it to the public's attention and was frequently no worse than it had been (Phofl, 1977; Tierney, 1982; Schonfeld, Meier and Griffin, 1979). The media generally became involved with social movements through special interest channels (Strodthoff, et. al, 1985).

More recent studies have suggested that the media are part of an entire national cycle that helps create a social problem (Hilgartner, 1988; Downs, 1972). Social problems compete for attention from society, and only those with the "right" characteristics - usually dramatic or novel features - made it onto the public's agenda. Because that attention is always limited, the rise of one problem usually caused the decline of another.

Downs proposed that the life cycle of a social problem follows a bell-shaped curve in which an issue "leaps into prominence," stays for a short time and gradually fades from public attention although the problem generally remains unresolved, all with media assistance. But the media change focus because their aim is to reach as large an audience as possible and editors believe they will bore readers if they keep harping on the same issue.

Under Downs' theory, the public is presented with a series of crises that fade and are replaced by more fashionable issues. This proposal seems to parallel the fad story concept: public attention shifts even though the problem still exists. It would seem likely, then, that Downs' theory could be used to predict the life cycle of fad stories.

A review of the literature indicates that there is empirical backing for the fad story concept and leads to four hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: A fad story has the following characteristics: It is usually about a high-interest subject. It bursts onto the national media scene and receives an increasing amount of coverage once a major paper validates the subject. The story or issue in question existed before the coverage and continues to exist after the stories die down.

Hypothesis 2: A fad story's life cycle mimics the up-and-down bell-shaped curve proposed by Downs' social problems research.

Hypothesis 3: Fad stories appear in the media at the hands of media-savvy public relations professionals or special interest groups.

Hypothesis 4: Fad stories are sensationalized and sometimes inaccurate.

III: METHOD

This paper[1] used a combination of interviews, content analysis methods and computer data base searching to research the hypotheses. The computer method searched a newspaper data base to track the number of stories about the fad story topics in seven metropolitan dailies.

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[1] This paper came out of a master's thesis of the same title which was completed for a master's degree in journalism at the University of Maryland, College Park, MD.

Because the basis for the fad story concept was suggested by working journalists, a group of about 20 editors and reporters from different size newspapers representing different regions of the country was interviewed. The researcher selected them either by making cold calls from listings in the Editor & Publisher yearbook or by asking for referrals from other people who were interviewed. The journalists were first asked if they agreed with the fad story concept. If so, they were then asked to provide a list of fad story characteristics and suggest what type of subjects are likely to become fad topics.

To test the second hypothesis, the life cycles of the three potential fad stories were traced in seven major daily newspapers by counting the number of stories on that topic per year. The papers selected include: The New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Detroit News, St. Louis Post-Dispatch,and New Orleans Times-Picayune.

The genital herpes and missing children stories were tabulated by counting the number of entries listed in the newspaper index for that topic. This method was used because the stories were too old to be stored on an accessible computer data base. All related headings were checked to make sure every story was counted. With the oat bran story, a computer data base was

This search was cross-referenced with a search of the newspaper indexes. The three topics were tracked for a period of time lasting two years before and after the coverage peak, or the year that the most stories appeared in the majority of newspapers about the subject. This tracking could be completed for only one year after the peak on the oat bran story, however, because that topic hit its coverage high point in 1990. The story frequencies were then plotted and traced on graphs.

To research hypotheses three and four, another group of about 15 reporters and editors, chosen in the same manner as for hypothesis one, was interviewed. In addition, some editors and reporters who worked on specific fad story topics were questioned and asked how the fad story got started, if special interest groups played any role, if reporters double-checked their facts, and what made the story appealing. This information was supplemented by available research on the topics in question.

To further research hypotheses three and four, non-journalists knowledgeable about each story topic, such as physicians and food company marketing representatives, were interviewed to find out their beliefs about the fad story concept. These people were asked if the issue under study existed before the media coverage, how the story got started, and if they thought the coverage was fair and balanced.

IV: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The findings of this study offer strong evidence to support each of the four hypotheses.

A majority of editors and reporters who were interviewed agreed with the definition of fad stories proposed in hypothesis one:

1. Media nationwide jump on fad stories, giving the topic an increasing amount of coverage until it peaks and falls off.

2. Fad stories feature sensational or high reader interest subjects.

3. A major national newspaper must first validate a fad story.

4. The issues or problems featured in fad stories continue to exist after the media coverage dies down, and might have existed before the media coverage began.

"Newspapers are slow to detect trends in society," said Richard Harwood, ombudsman for the Washington Post. "So when a seminal piece of writing happens, reporters are like blackbirds - they all leave the wire" (Harwood, 1989).

Although fad story subjects can range from whimsical to deadly serious, they always feature topics that will pique reader interest, journalists said. "Editors believe there are certain things the audience does want to hear," said Bob Mondello, art critic with National Public Radio (Mondello, 1989). "The slasher stories, human interest stuff, sleaze stuff - are all very popular."

Not all editors agreed with the definition, saying that news is by nature faddish, or that newspapers would be foolish if they did not give their readers stories of national interest. Those editors who agreed with the definition, however, said that trait number four distinguished fad stories from other news. They also believed that the prominence given to fad stories led the media to perpetuate a false picture of reality.

For hypothesis two, an examination of the coverage paths of the proposed fad stories suggested that their life cycles do tie in with the Downs' social problems theory (Downs, 1972), which states that social problems follow an up-and-down life cycle helped by media involvement (see Figures 1 to 3). Although the coverage peaks did not follow each other exactly, the paths suggest that the newspapers followed parallel trends, particularly with the genital herpes and missing children stories. With the missing children story in particular, when the breaking news stories about missing youngsters are removed and only stories about the epidemic and related issues are counted, the newspapers mimicked each other almost perfectly (Figure 2B). Newspapers did not follow one another quite as closely on the oat bran story.

As Downs proposed, each story did fit the criteria that distinguish a fad story from other stories: the problem existed before it captured public attention and continued to exist after the public lost interest.

With genital herpes, no statistics existed to prove that an epidemic was in progress when the story broke in the early 1980s, and the virus itself has been around for 2,000 years (Mitrotznik

Figure 1: Genital Herpes Coverage

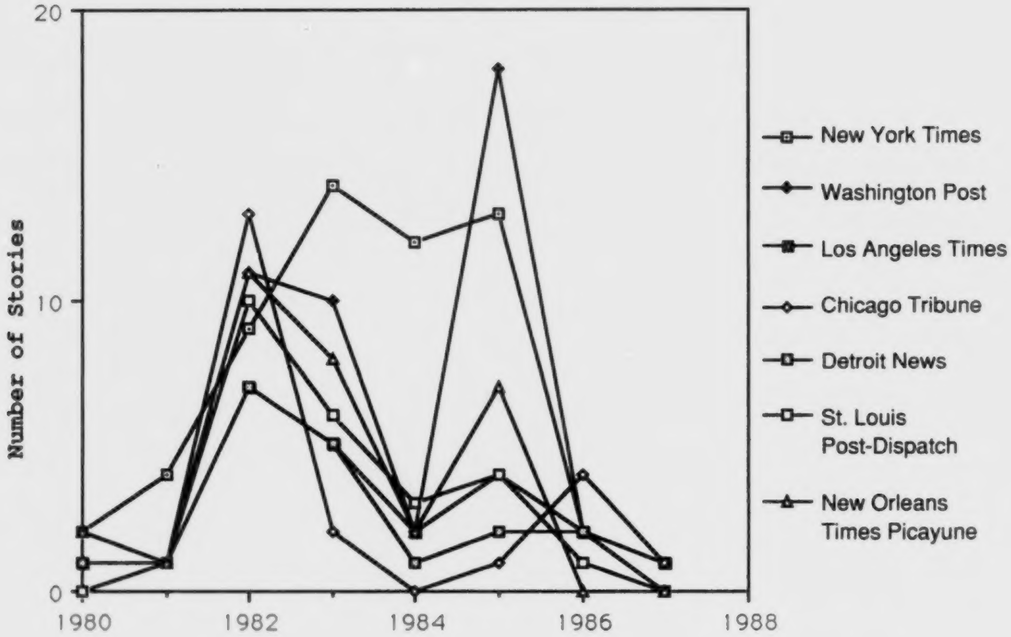


Figure 2A: Missing Children Epidemic Coverage

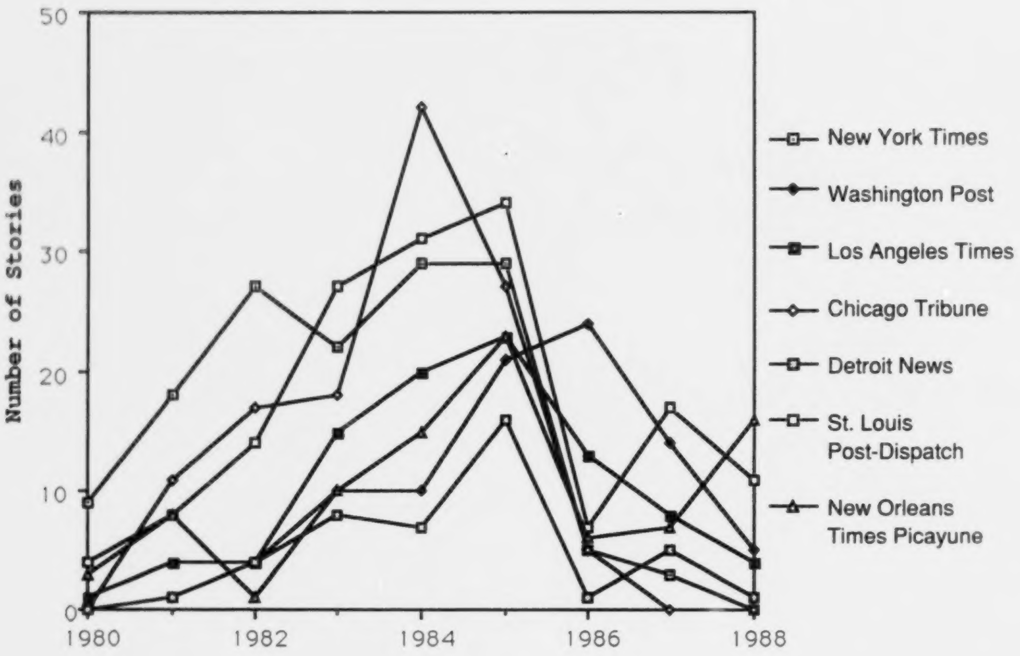


Figure 2B: Missing Children Epidemic Coverage—Breaking Stories Removed

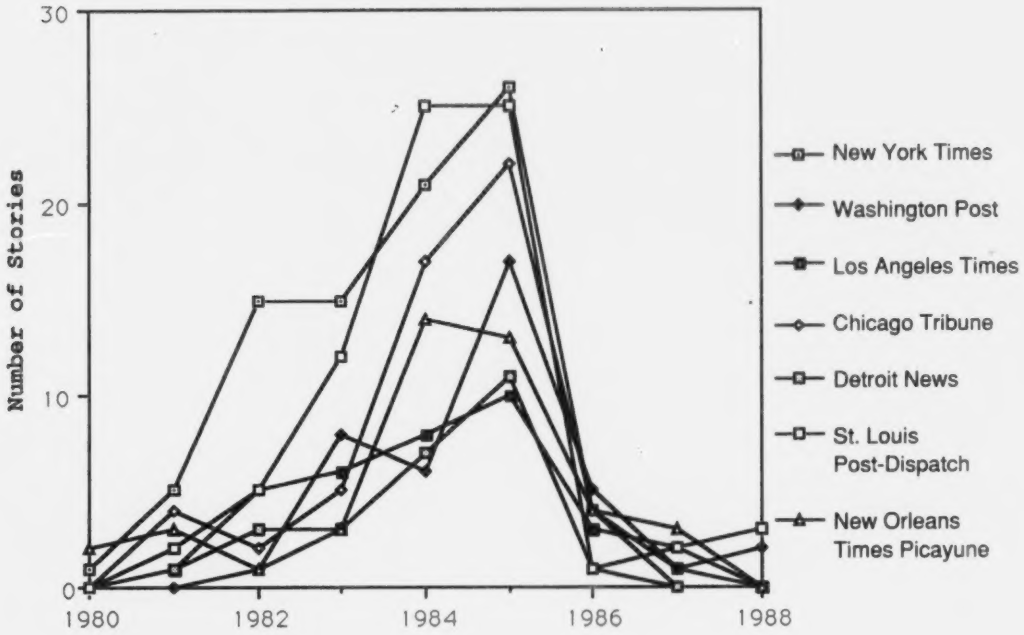
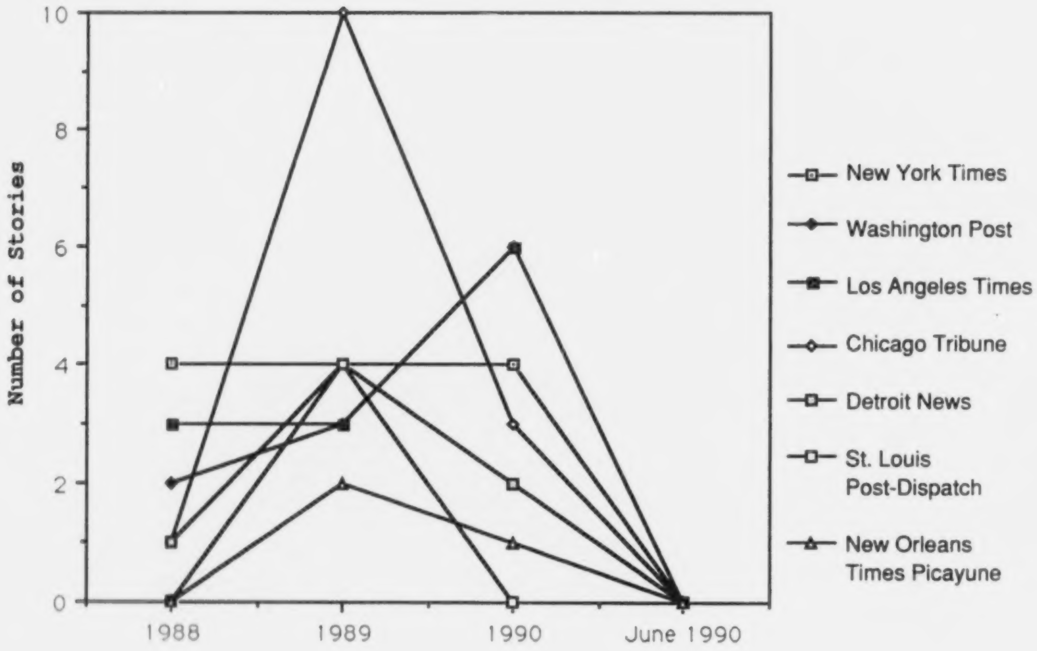


Figure 3: Oat Bran Coverage



and Mosellie, 1986; Aurelian, 1989). But starting in 1980 with stories in the New York Times and Los Angeles Times about a new epidemic, the coverage escalated and peaked in most newspapers by 1982. The Washington Post's aberration from the curve in 1985 occurred because of a breaking news story tied to the epidemic: a child was barred from a suburban school because he had the disease.

Throughout the coverage of the alleged epidemic, stories offered estimates of infected persons ranging from 5 million to 53 million. Yet medical researchers today say the numbers of people infected today with genital herpes is the same if not increasing, although it has been rarely mentioned in the newspapers since 1985 (Aurelian, 1989; Edell, 1989).

Likewise, the number of missing children did not dramatically increase in the 1980s when the stories broke. The phenomenon had its origins in Atlanta, where 28 children and teenagers disappeared between 1979 and 1981 at the hands of a serial murderer. Then, in a highly publicized case, 6-year-old Adam Walsh was abducted from a shopping mall in 1981 and later found decapitated. Yet these cases received little attention from law enforcement officials and politicians.

Social science researcher Best believes that advocacy group Child Find then coined the term "missing children" to encompass runaways, children who were victims of custody battles, and children abducted by strangers, believing it could get more sympathy for its cause by inflating the numbers. They claimed 1.5

million children were reported missing each year and 50,000 were abducted by strangers (Best, 1987). The 1.5 million figure started getting widely circulated with the help of John Walsh, father of the slain Adam, who testified at a Congressional hearing in 1981 (Griego and Kilzer, 1985).

The coverage continued for four years until the Denver Post published its Pulitzer-prize winning series "The Truth About Missing Kids" (Griego and Kilzer, 1985) which showed that the statistics were inflated.

Although oat bran cannot be characterized as a social problem on the same level as the other topics, it was examined because health is a topical issue that seems to spawn an entire genre of health-related miracle-cure fad stories.

With the oat bran story, research linking the soluble fiber to lower cholesterol levels dates back 25 years (Keppel, 1988), and endocrinologist Dr. James Anderson of the Veterans Administration Medical Center in Lexington, KY, conducted many similar studies throughout the 1980s (Manness Smith, 1990). Then, the Washington Post started the trend in 1988 by writing about a study claiming that oat bran helped lower cholesterol. Other newspapers followed the Post's lead until 1990, when another study refuted the fiber's supposed health benefits. The link between fiber and cholesterol is still being studied, although oat bran stories have quieted down since April, 1990.

Journalists and editors said that the process by which these stories became fads lies in the mindset of their colleagues who frequently borrow story ideas for two reasons: the story has proven market value, and the story is safe because its inherent newsworthiness has been validated by another major newspaper.

"Superficiality is quick and easy - other things take a long time and a long attention span," said W. Patrick Dougherty, city editor of the Anchorage Daily News, who blames fad stories on bad editors (Dougherty, 1989). "Editors cop out. News judgment becomes a matter of imitation rather than independent judgment and analysis."

Once this validation occurs, editors tend to regard the story as factual and usually do not feel a need to verify it. "If somebody says something, it is believed to be well within the assumed body of local knowledge," said John Costa, assistant managing editor of the St. Petersburg Times (Costa, 1989). "People begin to repeat it whether or not it's true."

The study also found evidence to support hypotheses three and four: fad stories were pushed into media attention by public relations professionals or special interest groups hoping to promote their cause; and fad stories were sensationalized or inaccurate, in part at the hands of those believed to have manipulated the media as suggested in hypothesis three.

The oat bran story was helped along in the media by food companies seeking publicity and increased sales for their products (Liesse, 1990; Cain, 1990; Sugarman, 1990). Although the cholesterol-reducing claims about the grain itself are probably not false, the media helped mislead the public by not making it clear that oat bran does not convert any food into a health food (Kawalek, 1990; Posner, 1990; Manness Smith, 1990). Several people also said the media gave unwarranted attention to a later study conducted with a small sample which undermined claims about oat bran's health benefits (Kawalek, 1990; Manness Smith, 1990). Left in the middle were confused consumers who probably never understood what the fiber could or could not do for them.

The genital herpes story was pushed in the media partly by doctors seeking research funds and social welfare agencies seeking recognition for their cause (Aurelian, 1989; Rodgers, 1989; Randol, 1989). Although there might have been a slight increase in the number of herpes cases at the time newspapers reported on the alleged epidemic, the stories offered wildly varying numbers that could not be factually verified (Mirotznik and Mosellie, 1986). Reporters and editors also said that newspapers sensationalized the disease in their stories and made both the epidemic and its consequences on herpes sufferers seem worse than they actually were. Some articles linked herpes to leprosy or called it the "new scarlet letter." People who contract herpes still suffer from a stigma attached to the disease, even though it is controllable and causes little discomfort after the initial outbreak (Pliskin, 1989).

The missing children story offers a clear case of how media-savvy individuals can push a story that did not exist. The advocacy group Child Find, which was responsible for saying that 1.5 million children were missing, later admitted that the figure was "pulled out of a hat" (Griego and Kilzer, 1985). The four years of media coverage turned out to be both sensationalized and inaccurate: Federal Bureau of Investigation officials confirmed that the actual number of children abducted by strangers totaled less than 100 each year (Griego and Kilzer, 1985).

Yet in the meantime, lawmakers created a national information clearinghouse on missing children, communities nationwide started child fingerprinting programs, utility and dairy companies donated space to run missing youngster's photos, and the issue received prominent attention in made-for-television movies and the media. Some also claimed the stories caused unnecessary alarm in parents who feared their children might be snatched by strangers (Griego and Kilzer, 1985).

Based on these findings, I would like to propose that the four hypotheses offered in this study form the basis for a fad story theory. However, this research also showed that the situations which lead to fad stories combine complex aspects of media, social problems and public opinion theory which are difficult to reduce to a few axioms. These findings should be viewed as the building blocks of a fad story theory which other researchers can elaborate upon.

For instance, the media manipulation proposed in hypothesis three alone would not have been enough to generate the fad stories. Otherwise, any over-eager publicist or scientist could start a media fad. Each fad story also featured topics that appealed to the media, topics that reflect the changing nature of news values. Journalists have noticed a trend in newspapers toward "soft news" stories featuring some type of scare or threat, as with missing children, or something that affects a person's lifestyle, as with oat bran. The tendency to run these stories has become more pronounced as newspapers scramble to attract an audience and hold off declining circulation figures.

In addition, breaking news events related to the topic occurred at the time each fad story burst onto the scene. The Atlanta child murders made headlines in virtually every newspaper before the missing children story got started; physicians started claiming there was a herpes epidemic; and researchers were suddenly talking about oat bran. Events like these provided a spark that helped bring attention to the issue and seemed to provide legitimate facts indicating that the issue did exist. It was the combination of media manipulation and media overreaction against the backdrop of societal interest that turned each of these topics into a fad story.

I would propose that these ideas could all take the shape of hypotheses which could be tested in future studies to refine the fad story theory.

Some editors might argue that fad stories are just a facet of media life and have no serious consequences on either the media or the public. Few would disagree that it is better to get the information out to the public, even if there are unknowns which cannot initially be verified when the story first breaks, than not to print anything at all. That press certainly was right to bring public attention to genital herpes, missing children cases, and the benefits of oat bran.

Yet if newspapers are going to continue following a story, there is no excuse for reporters and editors who either do not take the time to verify the facts or choose to sensationalize certain aspects of the story. It seems unbelievable that stories about missing children continued at a feverish pace for four years before a reporter questioned the statistics. Clearly, the misreporting done on the missing children story, as well as the other two, had some negative consequences on the public.

Members of the media, professional organizations and journalism educators must learn how to halt the fad story hype before it gets out of control by teaching reporters to question statistics, double-check facts, and temper claims that have not been proven.

These conditions will require editors and reporters to stop, think and question before they run a story that is getting good play in other newspapers. Because everything inherent in the way news is produced trains journalists to follow the pack rather than strike out on their own, there is little likelihood that fad stories will disappear from the media until a fed-up public stops dropping coins in the newspaper boxes.

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THE IDEOLOGY OF PORNOGRAPHY:
Portrayals of Female Sexuality in Pornographic Novels

by Robert Jensen
Ph.D. candidate

School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Minnesota
111 Murphy Hall
206 Church St. S.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455
(612) 625-3421

Presented to the Commission on the Status of Women of
the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass
Communication,
Boston, August 7, 1991.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the seemingly unresolvable arguments in the debate over pornography is deciding just what is pornographic. While there are no doubt cases at the margins that defy easy labeling, it is obvious that there is much material that can be analyzed as pornographic without serious conflict. Without minimizing the problems of definition, I argue that it is important not to get bogged down in that question, not to abandon the goal of identifying, describing and making judgments about pornography. The liberal definitional dodge attempts to avoid those judgments by keeping the debate abstract; this paper is an attempt to combat that with an analysis of actual pornographic material.

My goal is to test the arguments of the feminist anti-pornography movement about sexual subordination against a sample of one type of pornography, the pornographic novel. Working from the existing social science literature on the content of pornography, I will describe my qualitative examination of 20 of these books and offer an ideological analysis. By going beyond the somewhat sterile categories of content analysis, I hope to more fully understand the common themes and attitudes that are portrayed in and endorsed by the books.

As would be expected, the books are anything but subtle, not only in their descriptions of sexuality but in the way they frame that sexuality. Identifying the themes of pornographic novels is more like strip mining than literary interpretation; the ideology is lying there, barely below the surface if hidden at all. The results of that strip mining reveal support for feminist claims about pornography's ideology of sexual subordination of women.

DEALING WITH DEFINITIONS

Pornography is a non-legal term, distinct from the legal concept of obscenity that is used to judge the acceptability of restrictions on sexually explicit material. "Pornography" comes from the Greek pornographos, usually translated as "writing about whores." The first definition of the word appeared in 1857 to describe public health studies of prostitutes.[1] Contemporary usage varies, with a distinction often being made between "hard-core" and "soft-core," or between pornography and erotica. The confusion in trying to classify sexually explicit material was reflected in a 1964 U.S. Supreme Court obscenity case, from which came Justice Potter Stewart's famous method: "I know it when I see it."[2]

The current judicial test defines obscene material as that which appeals to the prurient interest in sex, portrays sexual conduct in a patently offensive manner, and has no serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.[3] Feminist writers tend to narrow the definition to concentrate on power and gender. The feminist anti-pornography ordinance[4] introduced in several cities in the 1980s defines pornography as: "graphic sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures and/or words" that include one of eight types of images.[5]

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[1] Walter Kendrick, The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture (New York: Viking, 1987), 19-23.

[2] Jacobellis v. Ohio, 378 U.S. 184, 197 (1964) (Stewart, concurring).

My own view is that we are better off thinking of a pornographic continuum rather than looking to draw a distinct line between the pornographic and non-pornographic. In this paper I will not attempt to construct a universal, all-encompassing definition of "pornography" to be used to judge whether, for example, *Playboy* magazine is pornographic. Instead of looking for ways to categorize material on the fringe, this paper will start with material that is widely accepted as pornography by both sides of the debate. Taking a more practical approach to definitions, perhaps it is enough to say that what is pornographic is what is sold as pornography: the racks in adults-only bookstores become the operational definition.

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[3] *Miller v. California*, 413 U.S. 15 (1973).

[4] This definition comes from Andrea Dworkin's and Catharine MacKinnon's "Model Ordinance" in their book *Pornography and Civil Rights: A New Day for Women's Equality* (Minneapolis: Organizing Against Pornography, 1988), 138-142. It is based on actual ordinances that met with varying political success in Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Cambridge (Mass.) and Bellingham (Wash.). In the two cases where the ordinance or initiative passed, Indianapolis and Bellingham, the laws were ruled unconstitutional by federal courts.

[5] Specifically, women presented: (1) dehumanized as sexual objects; (2) as sexual objects who enjoy humiliation or pain; (3) experiencing pleasure in sexual assault; (4) as sexual objects tied up or physically hurt; (5) in postures of sexual submission; (6) as body parts; (7) as being penetrated by objects or animals; and (8) in scenarios of degradation, humiliation, injury, torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although there is a large body of social science literature on pornography, the majority of it looks at the effects of sexually explicit material. There is relatively little work that has described and analyzed the content of pornographic materials, and much of the work that has been done focuses on the question of overtly violent images.

Malamuth and Spinner looked at pictures and cartoons in *Playboy* and *Penthouse* from 1973 to 1977 to determine if there was an increase in sexual violence (rape, sadomasochism, or exploitative/coercive sexual relations).[6] They found a clear increase in violence in the pictures but reached no definitive conclusion about cartoons. Their study found that in 1977 readers of the two magazines saw sexual violence in 10 percent of cartoons and almost 5 percent of pictorials.

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[6] Neil Malamuth and Barry Spinner, "Longitudinal Content Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Best Selling Erotica Magazines," *Journal of Sex Research*, 16:3 (1980): 226-237.

Scott and Cuvelier, however, found a much lower rate of sexually violent portrayals in their review of *Playboy* pictorials and cartoons from 1954 to 1983.[7] They contend that the years surveyed by Malamuth and Spinner were an anomaly and that sexual violence in *Playboy* decreased after 1977-78.

Matacin and Burger analyzed *Playboy* cartoons from the 12 issues in 1985 and found that humor served as a subtle way of communicating gender stereotypes.[8] Their study showed that women in the cartoons were more likely to be sexually naive and that men were more likely to be involved in coercive behavior.

Dietz and Sears surveyed magazine, book and film covers in 13 adult bookstores in major East Coast cities and found that 12.7 percent of the material used violent themes.[9] They also found 22.6 percent of the material to be humiliating or degrading by the standards of a sexual liberal (including such magazines as *Amputee Times*, *Betty's Animal Lover*, *Cornholed Blondes*, *Dildo Babies*, *Enema Erotica*). Another 38.4 percent arguably could be described as humiliating or degrading, depending on one's standards. Dietz and Sears also concluded that bondage, sadism, sadomasochistic themes, and violence are each significantly more likely to appear in materials in which females appear.

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[7] Joseph E. Scott and Steven J. Cuvelier, "Sexual Violence in Playboy Magazine: A Longitudinal Content Analysis, *The Journal of Sex Research*, 23:4 (1987): 534-539.

[8] Mala L. Matacin and Jerry M. Burger, "A Content Analysis of Sexual Themes in *Playboy* Cartoons," *Sex Roles*, 17:3-4 (August 1987): 179-186.

[9] Park Elliot Dietz and Alan E. Sears, "Pornography and Obscenity sold in Adult Bookstores: A Survey of 5132 Books, Magazines, and Films in Four American Cities," *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, 21:1-2 (Fall 1987-Winter 1988): 7-46.

Winick looked at all 430 hard-core magazines at an adult bookstore in Times Square and suggested that there may be less force with sex than is commonly believed.[10] But he found that of the materials dealing with bondage, 85 percent depicted unequal power relations, and of those, 71 percent depicted male dominance and 29 percent male submission.

Several other studies have looked at pornographic films.[11] Although the different methodologies and different definitions that were used make direct comparisons difficult, Brown and Bryant suggest that three general observations are supported by those studies: (1) pornography tends to be less violent than other media, but the degree of violence in pornography is increasing; (2) when violence is featured, females are usually victimized by males; and (3) the negative consequences of that violence are rarely shown.[12]

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[10] Charles Winick, "A Content Analysis of Sexually Explicit Magazines Sold in An Adult Bookstore," Journal of Sex Research, 21:2 (1985): 206-210.
[11] Joseph W. Slade, "Violence in the Hard-Core Pornographic Film: A Historical Survey," Journal of Communication, 34:3 (Summer 1984): 148-163; T.S. Palys, "Testing the Common Wisdom: The Social Content of Video Pornography, Canadian Psychology, 27:1 (1986): 22-35; S. Prince, E. Goldfarb and P. Messaris, "Power, Pleasure, and Pain in Pornographic Feature Films," paper presented at meeting of International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada, May 1987.

In their content analysis of 90 R-, X- and XXX-rated films from 1971 to 1986, Yang and Linz found no support for the suggestion that violence in sexual films is increasing.[13] But they did find that in the X and XXX movies, women were more likely to initiate sex and to be victims of sexual violence, while men were equally as likely to initiate or be the recipient of sexual activity but were more likely to be the initiator of sexual violence.

Less work has been done on pornographic fiction. The 1970 Commission on Obscenity and Pornography described the typical adult paperback novel as a non-stop description of sex aimed primarily at men.[14] Based on an admittedly sketchy survey of sex-book publishers, the commission estimated that in 1969 the industry published as many as 70 million and sold up to 30 million of the paperbacks, described as works "which cannot possibly be exceeded in candor, graphic description of sexual activity, or use of 'vulgar' language."[15]

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[12] Dan Brown and Jennings Bryant, "The Manifest Content of Pornography," in Dolf Zillman and Bryant, eds., Pornography: Research Advances and Policy Considerations (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989), 18-19.
[13] Ni Yang and Daniel Linz, "Movie Rating and the Content of Adult Videos: The Sex-Violence Ratio," Journal of Communication, 40:2 (Spring 1990): 28-42. They suggest that the common impression that the level of violence in pornography is increasing may be due to the increase in the sheer volume of material in the past 15 years.
[14] Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, Vol. 3, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 85-98.

Smith examined adults-only paperback fiction that was readily available in non-pornographic stores from 1968 to 1974.[16] His samples were taken from eight non-metro communities in five states. Among his findings were:

1. The books were typically a series of sex episodes with short transitions of non-sexual material.

2. "[T]he world of pornography is a man's world."[17] The books contain detailed descriptions of the appearance of women, but not of men (except genital size).

3. Men require little inducement to sex, but women more often need drugs, alcohol, or pornographic movies.

4. In 9 percent of the sex acts depicted there are implied or overt expressions of love, of which 3 percent are mutual and 6 percent are by the woman and are not returned by man.

5. A third of the books include some use of force -- physical, mental or blackmail[18] -- almost always by the man to encourage an unwanted act.

6. Men dominate the sex, regardless of the setting or participants.

Overall, Smith describes the quintessential theme of the books: A woman is sexually unstirred "until Superstud arrives, who, despite her initial resistance and piteous pleas for mercy, rather quickly and relentlessly unlocks her real sexual passion to take her to hitherto totally unimagined heights, leaving her begging for his continued ministrations."[19]

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[15] *Ibid.*, 93.
[16] Don D. Smith, "The Social Content of Pornography," *Journal of Communication*, 26:1 (1976): 16-24.
[17] *Ibid.*, 21.
[18] Smith does not provide definitions of these categories.

A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

My examination of the ideology of pornography is based on a qualitative analysis of 20 pornographic paperback novels. This type of literature was chosen over the more common picture magazine or film for two reasons. First, Smith's content analysis is more extensive than any done for the other forms of pornography, making it easier to situate the small sample of novels I examined. Second, when pornographers have to stimulate sexual desire with words alone and cannot rely on the power of visual depictions, I would suggest that they will rely on the most trustworthy themes, those they are confident male customers will find stimulating. Therefore, such novels can be presumed to be an accurate guide to the themes that modern pornography finds most useful.

With such a small sample, my intent obviously is not to attempt to make broad conclusions about the current pornography market; I am not contending that these 20 novels are strictly representative of pornography, that these books are what all pornography is about. Instead, I want to argue that, based on Smith's findings, these books in most ways are typical and that the conclusions reached about their content can be applied to other materials that share those characteristics.

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[19] Ibid., 23.

I also believe that a qualitative, interpretive analysis can go beyond content analysis and explicate the ideology in a way that quantitative approaches cannot.

Although the critical method does not offer conclusions that pretend to have universal generalizability or strict replicability, I want to argue that those conclusions are defensible and are not totally idiosyncratic. While my reading of the books had much to do with my personality and perspective, another critic could go to the works I have examined and determine whether I violated their integrity, whether my interpretation can be found in the texts or is simply the product of my imagination. That auditor may disagree with my interpretation, "[b]ut beyond the procedural requirements of adequate, accurate documentation and reasonable inference, what more can we demand of a critic than [she or] he tell the truth as [she or] he sees it?"[20]

So, I am not suggesting that my analysis is the only one possible. I accept that my reading is, as Geertz reminds us interpretive analyses always are, "essentially contestable." But it is my hope that through "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses,"[21] this analysis will add to our understanding of the relationship of power and sexual representations.

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[20] Philip Wander and Steven Jenkins, "Rhetoric, Society, and the Critical Response," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 58:4 (December 1972): 449.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This analysis is intended to test whether the radical feminist conception of pornography applies to pornographic novels. As is clear from the anti-pornography ordinance's definition already outlined, pornography is seen as a central practice in the construction and maintenance of male sexual dominance, which is in turn a key component of the broader patriarchal system. As a result, it is argued that women in pornography are routinely portrayed as naturally sexually subordinate.

MacKinnon, the leading legal theorist of the feminist anti-pornography movement, writes about how subordination is sexualized:

> Under male dominance, whatever sexually arouses a man is sex. In pornography, the violence is the sex. The inequality is sex. The humiliation is sex. The debasement is sex. The intrusion is sex. Pornography does not work sexually without gender hierarchy. If there is no inequality, no violation, no dominance, no

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[21] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 20.

force, there is no sexual arousal.[22]

Dworkin, a writer and lecturer who co-authored the anti-pornography ordinance with MacKinnon, argues that sexual subordination is one central way in which women are oppressed. She writes:

> In the subordination of women, inequality itself is sexualized: made into the experience of sexual pleasure, essential to sexual desire. Pornography is the material means of sexualizing inequality; and that is why pornography is a central practice in the subordination of women.[23]

This paper will look at the themes of pornographic novels using four key elements of sexual subordination identified by Dworkin:

1. Hierarchy: a question of power, with "a group on top (men) and a group on the bottom (women)."

2. Objectification: when "a human being, through social means, is made less than human, turned into a thing or commodity, bought and sold."

3. Submission: the acts of obedience and compliance. "In a condition of inferiority and objectification, submission is usually essential for survival. Oppressed groups are known for their abilities to anticipate the orders and desires of those who have power over them, to comply with

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[22] Catharine A. MacKinnon, Toward a Feminist Theory of the State (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 211.

[23] Andrea Dworkin, "Against the Male Flood: Censorship, Pornography, and Equality," in Letters From a War Zone: Writings 1976-1987 (London: Secker & Warburg, 1988), 264-265.

an obsequiousness that is then used by the dominant group to justify its own dominance..."

4. Violence: when it becomes "systematic, endemic enough to be unremarkable and normative, usually taken as an implicit right of the one committing the violence." The first three conditions make violence possible.[24]

Concludes Dworkin:

> [P]ornography creates inequality, not as artifact but as a system of social reality; it creates the necessity for and the actual behaviors that constitute sex inequality.[25]

Dworkin's complete analysis goes into far greater detail on these four elements and on other aspects of pornography. In her book on the subject, she uses different types of pornography, both written and visual, to discuss masculinity and femininity, power, force, and violence as they play out in pornography and sexual relations.[26] But this pared-down framework is useful for getting at the main themes in the pornographic novels I analyzed.

THEMES OF PORNOGRAPHIC NOVELS

The books I used were purchased at two different times, in October 1989 and October 1990, from Shinder's newsstand, a Minneapolis, Minn., store that carries a wide variety of publications, including sexually explicit books, magazines and videotapes.[27] I selected the books at random from a large display rack, taking note of titles only to avoid selecting too many books with similar plots (although titles of books of this kind may have nothing to do with story lines.) The sexual activity in the books is predominantly heterosexual,[28] and, while there is little empirical work on the gender of pornography consumers, my own experience leads me to believe that these books are purchased mostly by men.

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[24] Ibid., 266-267.
[25] Ibid., 267-268.
[26] Andrea Dworkin, Pornography: Men Possessing Women (New York: Perigee Books, 1979).

I will begin with a few general observations about the books. In these novels almost every character, even those who appear for a short time, becomes involved in sex, and the portrayals of sexuality fit into gendered categories. Men are uniformly portrayed as always sexually hungry, eager and willing to engage in sex without hesitation. Only young boys may hesitate, although usually only for the brief moment needed for them to get over the shock of being seduced by an older woman.

Women in the books are more complex and varied. There are several standard portrayals: (1) the "hot bitches," either adult or teen-age women who are similar to men in their constant desire for sex, some of whom are portrayed as nymphomaniacs in a clinical sense; (2) the "hesitant prudes," adult women who resist sex at first but quickly are overcome by lust and develop voracious sexual appetites; and (3) the "uninitiated youth" who fear sex because of a lack of knowledge but become willing participants in sexual activity once those fears are overcome. There are no female characters in these books who reject sex from any man, and the men view all women as being available for sex, unless another man has a more powerful claim to the woman. The only difference between female characters is the amount of time it takes them to realize this hyper-sexuality and become willing participants.

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[27] A complete list of the books used is included in the appendix.

[28] In the 20 books I read, there were only two scenes involving male homosexual sex. There are lesbian scenes in all of these books, but it would be hard to describe these as portrayals of any kind of authentic lesbian sexuality. Sex between women in these books typically serves (1) to loosen up frigid women; (2) to entertain male characters; or (3) as a substitute when men are not available. The one book that included a scene with what appeared to be "real" lesbians (Taxi Tramps), portrayed them and their sexual activity as repulsive to the male narrator.

What is the purpose of a woman in these novels? The key element is not that the female characters are always portrayed sexually; obviously male characters are as well. But for women, these books suggest, there is no other defining characteristic. As one woman, a "hot bitch," tells a teenager: "Whenever you aren't stuffed full of prick, you'll feel vacant. Hollow. You'll feel unfulfilled." (Spreading It Around, 72.) Another woman, a doctor, overcomes her reluctance to being forced to have sex, learning that in intercourse, "All she felt was a completion of her body as a woman, a fulfillment of her soul as a human being." (The Lady Plays Doctor, 23.) Later, she tells the doctor who employs her, "Come on and fuck me some more, dammit. I was made for it. Doctoring is just a sideline with me." (139).

The pornographic novel constantly reminds the reader that, in the end, all women are the same in that all women are for sex. How is this hyper-sexuality of women portrayed? Here it is useful to turn to Dworkin's elements of subordination.

1. Hierarchy.

The power imbalance in these pornographic novels is overwhelming, both in the way in which characters are situated in the stories and in the descriptions of sexual activity. Men typically hold the positions of power, as the executives, employers, supervisors or doctors. The secretaries, students, and nurses -- popular occupations for women in the books -- are portrayed as being routinely sexually available to men. In one book, a nurse is approached for sex by two interns: "She hated it. Nevertheless, she knew that she was in no position to complain." (Nurse's Secret Lust, 87.)

But men do not need that formal authority to be able to dictate the terms of sexual contact. When a female teacher tries to resist a fellow teacher's offer, he tells her, "Look, I want to ball with you. And if you don't like it that's tough." (Teacher's Passionate Urge, 44.) Often the man and woman engaging in sex are not described in terms of occupation or authority, but the power relationship is clear. In one such case involving a male car mechanic and a female customer, the man orders the woman into a sexual position, telling her, "You just remember one thing. You're gonna have to listen to me at every step. I'm the one who's calling the shots. You got me?" (Everybody's Virgin, 141.) Men often gain extra satisfaction from exercising that power: "He liked seeing her squirm. It gave him a feeling of power forcing her to suck his cock when he knew she hated every second of it." (Easy Office Girl, 17.) Women in the books do not attempt to make such demands, nor are they described as gaining pleasure from control.

When women do appear in positions of authority, usually they are not allowed to exercise their power or they willingly give it up. For example, male students routinely take charge over female teachers. In one book, a female teacher tries to reject a student's demand for anal sex. "'Maybe,' he laughed, 'I don't give a damn. I want to get my rocks off, Teach. I'm gonna do it the way I want to. Understand?'" (Teacher's Passionate Urge, 80.) Even successful, assertive women who have achieved widespread fame will cast off any power that fame brings when a man approaches them for sex. A cabbie is at first nervous when he picks up a movie star. After they begin having sex, however, he relaxes:

> Famous as she might be, she was just like any other woman when it came to loving. She wanted to be dominated by me. (154.)
> "I'm only a woman, Vince," she murmured with a surprising tenderness to her voice. "I feel the same hungers any woman feels. And right now, I'm hungry for this big, beautiful dick of yours." (159.)

Occasionally, a woman will be portrayed as having power that can rival a man's. In Power Trip, the woman's status comes from a large inheritance -- something, it should be noted, she merely received and did not create. With that power she is able to control a private detective who is working for her but who dislikes taking orders from her. Eventually they fall in love (that is, what passes for love in these books, an extension of sexual desire) and get married, and the power dynamic changes as the man takes charge sexually. As he begins to have sex with her, he thinks to himself, "Total master of the situation, this was the first time he was feeling good since he had taken on Moira." (Power Trip, 139.) The message is not only that through sex a man assumes his natural dominant position, but that such dominance is the way to contentment for a man.

In general, the power men hold in these books comes from either their position in society or simply the fact that they are men. Any power that women hold is almost always derived from their bodies, their ability to perform sexually -- power that in the end is controlled by men. For example, in Easy Office Girl, an ambitious woman rises to the top job at a television station by having sex with men and then manipulating them. Her success is the result not of talent or hard work, but of sex.

Challenges to the male-dominant hierarchy are resolved quickly. In one book a man tells the woman that he wants her to get on her knees and says he doesn't know why he likes that position. She tells him:

> "Cause you are a male chauvinist pig," she exclaimed.
> "Honey, you've been liberated," he told her. "You'd better get on your knees fast and tell me you're sorry for talking to a man like that."
> For a second Susan wanted to slap his face. But she thought better of it. Reluctantly she dropped to her knees.
> "I apologize," she said as the man moved closer.
> (Secretary's Naked Lunch, 77.)

2. **Objectification.**

In contemporary American media -- indeed, throughout society -- women are routinely objectified, presented as objects for the visual or sexual consumption of men. That pornographic novels are no different is hardly surprising. The argument is often made, however, that pornography objectifies men as well, presenting them as sexual objects. While pornography does present men as hyper-sexual beings, it does not present them as objects. Men in these novels are the sexual subjects, the beings with agency who control and direct the sexual activity. As MacKinnon reminds us, it is helpful to remember the dominant grammar of sex and pornography in our culture: "Man fucks woman; subject verb object."[29]

One manifestation of this is the differences in the way in which male and female bodies are described. The physical descriptions of men are limited to a few words about the penis, which is invariably described as unusually large. There is almost no discussion of other male physical characteristics. But much attention is paid to describing the appearance of women, with special notice taken of the mouth, breasts, legs, and buttocks. Often, women are reduced to their genitalia; they don't just have a vagina, they are a vagina. When teased by a male partner who is withholding sex, one woman cries out, "Yes, yes, whatever you say. I'm a cunt." (Gal About Town, 123.) In another case three men pick up a woman, and two of them begin having sex with her in the car, which angers the driver. "'What the fuck's going on back there?' asked Lou. ... 'You bastard! Save some of that cunt for the fuckin' party!'" (Sheila Spreads Wide, 33.) In another example, an attorney demands sex from a woman, saying, "You owe me your cunt ... and I'm going to collect." (Power Trip, 75.)

Men in the novels have penises, but they are never referred to as being a penis. The typical attitude toward the penis is one of reverence, of respect for its power. One man is described as "reveling in the wonderful sensation of his magnificent power as the great, rampaging

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29 MacKinnon, Toward a Feminist Theory of the State, 124.

cock continued to fill and refill her." (Power Trip, 80) In fact, the penis is treated almost as a religious symbol. In another book, a male student approaches the teacher after class and says, "Why don't you get down on your knees and worship it?" (Teacher's Passionate Urge, 60.)

In several instances in the novels, women embrace their own objectification by using and taking pleasure in pornography. In one novel, an older woman encourages the boy she is seducing to show her his pornographic magazines, and together they try to re-enact sexual positions from them:

> Molly laid the photo close to them so they could go on studying it. She arranged herself just like the lusty blonde, on her elbows and knees, with her cute little ass sticking out. (Balling, Sucking Widow, 85.)[30]

In another book, a female doctor who has been coerced into sexual activity by her boss finds herself being blackmailed with photos taken during the coerced sex. But the woman finds herself enjoying the photos, the record of her sexual enslavement: "Those photographs were their weapon over her, and they were also a source of joy to Joyce." (The Lady Plays Doctor, 147.) As we shall see in the next two sections, this tactic of making women a part of their own subordination is central to the ideology of pornography.

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[30] While there are no doubt women who might voluntarily engage in such activity, this passage is particularly insidious when one recalls the testimony of women who have been forced to reproduce scenes from pornography, often causing pain and humiliation. For specific examples, see: transcript of Public Hearings on Ordinances to Add Pornography as Discrimination against Women, Minneapolis City Council, Government Operations Committee (1983), published by Organizing Against Pornography, a Minneapolis anti-pornography organization that closed in 1990; Diana E.H. Russell, "Pornography and Violence: What Does the New Research Say?" in Laura Lederer, ed., Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980), 218-238; and Attorney General's Commission on Pornography: Final Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1986), 773-835.

3. Submission.

Occasionally in these novels, men must rely on physical force to ensure women's submission. But an integral part of women's sexual submission in pornography, as Dworkin points out, is their willingness to comply with any request. This essential element generally takes one of two forms. In some cases the woman is aware of her submissive nature and seeks the degrading sex. These women come to the scenes ready for whatever the men want. For example, one woman considers leaving a husband who beats her and forces her to engage in strange sex. But, she concludes, "What's the use in kidding myself, Doctor? I love it as much as he loves punishing me, eh? Well, so be it!" (Wives Who Will, 125.)

A more common scenario in pornographic novels involves women who are at first hesitant. The woman does not at first understand her need to submit and learns along the way to crave sex and domination. The man's job is to force the sex on the woman until she realizes her proper role, a theme that will be discussed in the following section. This is perhaps the most pervasive theme in pornography; every book I analyzed included such descriptions of initial fear, revulsion or anger on the part of women facing sexual situations that turn into an unquenchable thirst for sex, often in ways that are painful or degrading. In it simplest form, the exchange works like this:

> "Ohhhh, don't fuck me. You can't fuck me!"
> "You want it so bad, you don't even know what you're saying."
> "I don't want it. I don't ..."
> .....
> "Fuck me! Ohhh, damn you, fuck me now!" (What A Librarian!, 60-61.)

Once converted, the woman is concerned with little but sex. In one book, a woman explains that although the man did not treat her with respect, she didn't mind. "He could degrade her any way he chose to, just as long as he didn't take that lovely hard meat out of her mouth." (The Lady Plays Doctor, 63-64.)

Sometimes the women remain ambivalent even after they have been "broken in," but that ambivalence always melts away. In a scene where an employee is forced to perform for her boss, the following thoughts go through her mind:

> She hated herself. She hated sucking on his prick. She discovered she hated herself worst of all -- for enjoying this degradation. ... This humiliating scene was sexually arousing her. ... If she didn't get it, she would surely go crazy with lust." (Easy Office Girl, 16)

Women also are sometimes portrayed as wanting to submit to sex but pretending not to. In one book a woman is set free to enjoy sex after the man puts her dress over her head, concealing her reactions: "Now she would not be betrayed. Now she could be fucked and sucked without showing him how much she wanted to be fucked and sucked. Typical woman." (The Town Sluts, 93.)

In all the books, any reservations that women have are eventually resolved and they become willing sex partners, no matter how traumatic their past experiences may have been. For example, one book attributes an adult woman's resistance to sex to her ambivalent feelings over being sexually abused as a child. But after finally giving in to her "natural" desire, she realizes:

> God, what a fool she had been! What an insane fool! Just because several men used her the way a female should be used, she had spent most of her life without cock, wonderful cock. (Boy-Hungry Librarian, 148.)[31]

4. Violence.

The need for women to be shown their natural submissive role often is connected to the violence in pornography. This takes the form of everything from milder levels of forcing -- "Candy was about to protest, but Daryl pulled her platinum blonde hair and shoved his cock into her wet mouth." (Candy's Sweet Mouth, 10.) -- to bondage, rape, and torture.

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[31] This is one of the many instances in which the novels portray sexual activity as natural for young girls. In one book a woman describes being picked up after school by a man when she was 12. "And I might have been only twelve years old but I was willing to give him that blow-job too. Maybe that's why sexually I'm such a good wife today, Doctor, because I had a lot of heavy sex when I was younger. I was just never afraid of it, you know what I mean?" (Wives Who Will, 42.) Incest between girls and stepfathers, fathers or brothers is also portrayed sympathetically, usually with the girl as a willing participant.

Even the language used to describe sex and the male organ is larded with violent images. The penis is consistently referred to as a type of weapon, as seen in this collection of descriptions from Everybody's Virgin:

> cock stabs (19); his rifle-like penis (20); his stirring, dagger-like rod (27); his razor-sharp organ (41); his jackhammer cock (104); his steady spear (105); my lover's quick, surging stabs (142); His hurling dagger kept on slashing up between my buns (157); I really want to slice with my cock (170); Just jackknife your prick inside me. Just stab it real nice (176).

As with many other aspects of pornographic novels, the imagery conjured up by these descriptions is not subtle: "He continued sliding into her as he got off his gun." (Secretary's Naked Lunch, 159.)

But beyond these uses of violent imagery there are numerous descriptions of overtly violent acts committed by men against women. From the perspective of male characters in the novels, violence is an acceptable method of ensuring sexual cooperation from women. For example, in one book a woman refuses to participate in sadomasochistic sex, so the man whips her until she submits. The man then tells a friend, "Women, women ... they won't do what you want them to unless you use a little pressure." (Teacher's Passionate

Urge, 101.)

For men in these novels, the violence is also a source of pleasure once the woman's participation has been secured:

> He slapped at her thighs several times, which caused Ray to feel an even greater measure of excitement as he kept on spiritedly thrusting his dick deep inside her pussy. ... This time Ray asserted himself even more vigorously than before. He kept reaching out with his trembling hands, slapping at his lover's buttocks, enjoying the activity as he moved that much closer to climax. (The Hungry Hostess, 33-34.)

Although in the books I analyzed it is always the men committing the violent act, the violence and pain is typically described from the woman's point of view and comes in two different forms. In some cases, women who have eagerly agreed to sex find themselves enjoying pain that occurs in the course of sexual activity. In these cases, the violent act and resulting pain are not connected to coercion into the sex act. The second, and more common, type of description of violence and pain follows a standard "rape myth" scenario in which the woman initially resists sexual contact but eventually gives in to the overwhelming pleasure. This scenario begins with some level of force to overcome the woman's resistance and includes varying levels of pain for the woman, pain that is described as adding to her pleasure.

In the 20 novels I analyzed, all but four used the rape-myth scenario at least once, and most repeated it throughout the book. In those four, the women were portrayed as nymphomaniacs who did not need to be coerced into sexual activity. The following examples show the different levels at which this portrayal of women enjoying this fusion of sex and pain, and sex and violence are played out in the novels:

> Mike had pumped his penis so far down the teacher's throat, she thought she would choke on his cock. Yet, there was a strange enchanting excitement, about this intimate connection. She couldn't understand it, but she enjoyed it. (Teacher's Passionate Urge, 25.)
>
> His fingers cruelly cut into her soft flesh. . . . Oddly, this stimulated her to a fever pitch that she had missed. The pain in her rear end made the pleasure he was giving her asshole all the more apparent. ... The pain actually heightened her senses, made her more aware of what was happening to her. (Easy Office Girl, 127.)
>
> As Susan felt the thick, long, slippery penis gliding up her asshole, she let out a small moan of pain. This pleases Larry. Having a streak of sadism in him added to his erotic pleasure. "Fuck my asshole," she told him. "Go ahead. I like it when it hurts, Larry." (Secretary's Naked Lunch, 136.)
>
> (After a woman's father-in-law catches her masturbating and hits her on her buttocks with his belt):
> I was quite startled by the notion that he could beat me in one instant and make love to me in the next. My naked pink flesh shook with anticipation. ... and soon my juices began to flow so plentifully that I could no longer deny how much I loved him even though he had only moments before strapped my buttocks. I gave way... (Wives Who Will, 33-34.)
>
> (Another woman who is raped by her brother-in-law becomes excited by it):
> I pulled him down close to me and gave way to rape, turned it into love.
> (She continues to have sex with him after that day.)
> I told him that I thought he had cast a kind of a spell on me since he raped me that day. (Wives Who Will, 105-106.)
>
> (A woman is tied up by several men for a gang rape):
> Sheila let out a muffled shriek and strained horribly against her bonds. ... Sheila whimpered pitifully and

> tugged furiously at the ropes. She was no longer angry at Neil and Robbie. She merely wanted to free herself in order to play with the young man's prick and balls. (*Sheila Spreads Wide*, 65.)
> She did not struggle. She had realized some time ago that she was having the time of her life. She merely wanted the men to get on with the gang-bang. (77.)
>
> (A male doctor plays a rape game with his new female colleague):
> And you're going to keep quiet about his, aren't you. Instead of going to your parents, you're going to come back to us for more hot sex, aren't you? (*The Lady Plays Doctor*, 92.)

As if these portrayals of the rape myth are not blatant enough, one book goes to great lengths to spell out the essential components of this ideology. The author of *Town Sluts* explains that it would be unlikely that the man who had attacked a woman while she was jogging would ever be convicted of rape:

> Because the attorneys for the defense would have had a cakewalk in proving that Ramona Rathers was a willing victim. Very willing.
>
> First of all she had no business jogging without wearing bra and panties -- just sweat togs.
>
> Second, she had no right jogging in a section of the park that had been posted with warning signs that said: Beware of Rapists!
>
> Third, there were no signs of physical violence. No bruises on her body, no chafe marks on her pussy, or her asshole, or her mouth.
>
> Fourth, Ramona herself would testify that she had not yelled "Rape!" or "Help!" or "Fire!
>
> So it had not been rape at all when Bernard Drew had parachuted from the sky and bowled Ramona over and started tugging off her sweat suit. (124.)

After the rape -- described as "one of those things in life that are disgusting when thought about, but downright fun when tried" (142.) -- Ramona berates Bernard for not satisfying her, telling him, "Hey! You can't leave me hanging! Christ, I'm hotter than hell! Come on, I wanta suck your cock!" (142-143.) Later, in a typically absurd plot turn, Ramona meets a boxing trainer who is angry because women are diverting his fighter from training. This man spontaneously hits her with a tree branch, causing Ramona to cry out, "OH! THAT'S IT! BEAT THE SHIT OUT OF ME! HURT ME!" (151.) The trainer -- whose visit to a prostitute is described earlier in the book -- continues to beat her, to hurt her, to finally kill her. The male violence here takes on an aspect of retribution; men take sex from women, who are blamed for seducing men. The fitting punishment is death.

The Ideology of Male Supremacy.

As I have shown, the ideology of male supremacy appears throughout the non-stop descriptions of sexual activity in pornographic novels, incorporating some or all of Dworkin's categories of subordination. A final excerpt from one of the books will show how all of these elements can come together to present a picture of women as naturally powerless sexual objects who crave violence and sex at the direction of a man.

In the concluding chapter of Easy Office Girl (147-158.), the woman who has used her sexual power over men to rise to the top at a television stations approaches the station owner to ask for the top management job. After owner Ed Morgan agrees to give Cheryl (who is never given a last name) the job, he takes her into a sadomasochism chamber. She asks to leave, but he cuts off her clothes and hits her with a paddle. Her resistance and fear of pain evaporate quickly:

> Soon, the pain subsided and she found herself actually enjoying the scene. It was kinky. She couldn't explain why it was turning her on so. But it was. The pain had heightened her sense. She found herself totally alive now. But when was he going to get down and really fuck her?

Morgan then gags her and begins a torture session that includes Cheryl being bound, gagged, and whipped. He urinates on her and gives her a chemical enema. Cheryl's reaction to this deserves to be quoted in full:

> All she had gone through had turned her on! She had needed to be used, abused! He was such a forceful man, not like the namby-pamby men she had found before. He couldn't be pushed around. She couldn't use sex as a weapon against him.
>
> He knew what he wanted -- and took it. ...
>
> He knew women.
>
> He knew what turned them on. ... He could humiliate her and make her love every second of it.
>
> She was humiliated, degraded, made to feel less than human.
>
> He was using her.
>
> Just like she had used all the other men to get to this point.
>
> And the hell of it was, she enjoyed it!
>
> She needed to be abused, to be humiliated. The pain heightened her senses all the way to where she could enjoy the pleasure. It gave her a good contrast of how good the pleasure actually was in comparison.
>
> Most of all, she needed a man who was a man. Not the sniveling turds who could be wrapped around her little finger.
>
> But when Morgan showed her that a man could make her do whatever he wanted, she found her true self. She needed to be used by this man in whatever fashion his mind could conjure up. It was necessary for her.
>
> This was a man she could worship.
>
> ... then he used her again. All night long.
>
> And she loved him for it.

CONCLUSION

Although it may seem unnecessary to state explicitly, the assumption of this discussion is that women are not what they are portrayed to be in these pornographic novels. That is, women are not uncontrollable sexual beings who crave domination and humiliation, who derive pleasure from pain and subordinate status, who secretly want to be raped. Without getting into an extended discussion of what may or may not be "authentic" sexuality or whether such a thing exists, I believe this point need not be "proved" in any formal sense. The existence of a wide range of sexual practices, including sadomasochistic behavior by some women, does not disable my argument. I would suggest that the burden of proof rests with those who believe women are driven by the desires portrayed in pornography.[32]

Introducing concepts of false consciousness and internalized oppression into the debate is fraught with danger, again, especially for a man. The danger of creating a new hierarchy of enlightened and unenlightened women is to be feared. But I think women have a right to raise this issue, as many have. From my reading about this issue, I have come to believe that it is simplistic to look at the use of pornography by some women or their participation in sadomasochism independent of the social setting, as if sexism did not exist.

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[32] Because of my focus on heterosexual pornography, I am purposefully avoiding any mention of how these same issues are handled in the lesbian S/M debate.

One of my central conclusions, following the feminist critique, is that pornography tells lies about female sexuality. A common response, which is usually a diversionary tactic used by pornography supporters, is that these portrayals misrepresent male sexuality as well as female sexuality. If there are lies being told, it is argued, they are being told about both sexes. The underlying argument is that because pornography appears to be an equal-opportunity liar, any claims about differential harm to women are unfair.

However, like the reliance on definitional disarray, I believe this is another liberal attempt to dodge unpleasant realities about pornography. I have already shown several ways in which male sexuality is portrayed differently from female sexuality: men are in positions of power in the world and in sexual situations; they are sexual subjects while women are portrayed as objects; and they commit violence against women. In other words, while the portrayals of both male and female sexuality are exaggerated and unflattering, there are important differences.

Just as important as these differences in the novels themselves is the different social positions of men and women in the real world. Men hold power not only in the novels, but also in the world. Although men can be the victims of violence by women, typically it is men who sexually harass and women who are harassed; men who batter and women who are battered; men who rape and women who get raped. I agree that pornography is detrimental to the sexual development of men; as Brod puts it, pornography is as alienating for male sexuality as for female.[33] The difference, as Brod also points out, is that women also face the constant threat of male violence. Stated more bluntly by Caputi and Russell, ask men why they feel threatened by women and they will say they are afraid of being laughed at. Ask women why they feel threatened by men and they say they are afraid of being killed.[34]

One common response to this kind of analysis of pornography is the assertion that even if the message is misogynist, we have no way to know what the effect of that message is on people in real life. The debate over the effects of pornography has been is too complex to enter into in this paper. Instead, I would like simply to suggest that it is important to ponder the implications of the very existence of misogynist pornography. Individuals and companies whose goal is to make money have found that woman-hating sexual messages are good business. Woman-hating, we might conclude, lives in the hearts of many men.

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33 Harry Brod, "Pornography and the Alienation of Male Sexuality," Social Theory and Practice, 14:3 (Fall 1988): 265-284.

34 Jane Caputi and Diana E.H. Russell, "Femicide: Speaking the Unspeakable," Ms., September/October 1990, 34.

The books I analyzed, then, are in some sense an indication of the resiliency of sexism in contemporary America. At first glance this may seem to be a trivial statement; that American society is sexist is hardly a controversial claim. But what is important is the degree and the depth of sexism. In a time when some people talk about our society being "post-feminist," it is important to remember the ways in which misogyny manifests itself and to understand what those manifestations say about our collective character.

My conclusions in this paper are not offered as part of an argument for any particular legal solution, but are intended to be part of an ongoing dialogue about our values and how well we live them. Geertz describes interpretive anthropology as "a science whose progress is marked less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate. What gets better is the precision with which we vex each other."[35] It is my belief that in the debate over pornography we have vexed each other without much precision. Arguments, especially legal ones, are too often detached from the pornography that exists in the world; discussions sometimes seem to be more about a category of words and images called pornography than about actual pornographic words and images. Because of the erotic power of the material, legal and scholarly discourse seems to take great pains to avoid an examination of that eroticism.

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[35] Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, 29.

Understanding how to deal with pornography requires that we first understand pornographic images and acknowledge their erotic charge. From there, we need to examine the connections between those images' erotic power and gender relations. This process is at the same time individual and collective, demanding honest self-reflection and honest conversation. If this paper has been successful, it can be part of that process.

APPENDIX

Allison, Tom, She Blew Her Oral Exam (San Diego: Greenleaf Classics, 1986), $4.95, 148 pages.

Brown, David, Sheila Spreads Wide (Greenleaf Classics, 1976), $4.95, 158 pages.

Crowell, Roger, Wives Who Will (Sun Valley, Calif.: American Art Enterprises, 1990, 1976), $3.95, 160 pages.

Crowley, John, Nurse's Secret Lust (North Hollywood: American Art Enterprises, 1989, 1977), $3.95, 192 pages.

Davis, Carol, Teacher's Passionate Urge (North Hollywood: American Art Enterprises, 1989, 1974), $3.95, 191 pages.

Eastwood, Nick, Balling, Sucking Widow (San Diego: Greenleaf Classics, 1985), $4.95, 152 pages.

Harrison, Chris, Taxi Tramps (New York: Midwood Publications, 1975), $3.95, 187 pp.

Howard, Randy, Boy-Hungry Librarian (Greenleaf Classics, 1978), $4.95, 150 pp.

Kellerman, John, What a Librarian! (San Diego: Greenleaf Classics, 1986), $4.95, 153 pages.

Kopp, R.K., Candy's Sweet Mouth (Sun Valley, Calif.: American Art Enterprises, 1990, 1974), $3.95, 159 pages.

Linder, Bea, Spreading It Around, 163 pp., and O'Latern, Jack, Gal About Town, 180 pp., (New York: Carlyle Communications, 1981), $4.25. (two books published in one volume)

Long, J.H., The Town Sluts (Greenleaf Classics, 1976), $4.95, 158 pages.

Manning, Roy, Secretary in Heat (Greenleaf Classics, 1976), $4.95, 158 pages.

Mazuk, Tanya, Secretary's Naked Lunch (North Hollywood: American Art Enterprises, 1989, 1976), $3.95, 190 pages.

Mead, Marsha, The Hungry Hostess (North Hollywood: American Art Enterprises, 1989, 1975), $3.95, 192 pages.

Milner, Jerry, The Lady Plays Doctor (San Diego: Greenleaf Classics, 1975), $4.95, 155 pages.

Ray, Debbie, Everybody's Virgin (North Hollywood: American Art Enterprises, 1989, 1977), $3.95, 191 pages.

Strong, Rod, Power Trip (North Hollywood: American Art Enterprises, 1989), $4.95, 154 pages.

Vickers, Robert, Easy Office Girl (Greenleaf Classics, 1976), $4.95, 158 pp.

Abstract

A Field Study of Newspaper in Education's Impact in Cultivating Future Newspaper Readers

by

Gerald C. Stone
Dean, College of Communications and Fine Arts
Southern Illinois University-Carbondale
Carbondale, IL 62901-6606
(618) 453-4308

and

Elinor Kelley Grusin
Department of Journalism
Memphis State University
Memphis, TN 38152
(901) 678-2854

The Newspaper in Education program is among the largest and most pervasive efforts to bring newspapers to youngsters at their most impressionable age. If researchers could document a convincing link between school newspaper use and increased adult newspaper use, publishers might have a partial solution to the loss of young readers. This study took a more rigorous approach to identifying NIE participants and to addressing memory problems by using focus groups to identify concepts for questions that would cue memory. A total of 420 young adults in Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, where there is a well-established and pervasive NIE program, were surveyed. Data revealed slightly higher newspaper use attributed to NIE. While not statistically significant, the few percentage points edge suggest need for further analysis with a larger sample. Results also showed quality and enjoyment of the NIE experience are more important determinants of adult newspaper use.

Paper presented to the Newspaper Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, August 1991. Funds for this research were provided by The ANPA Foundation, Scripps Howard Foundation and more than a dozen newspaper organizations.

A Field Study of Newspaper in Education's Impact in Cultivating Future Newspaper Readers

by

Gerald C. Stone
Dean, College of Communications and Fine Arts
Southern Illinois University-Carbondale

and

Elinor Kelley Grusin
Department of Journalism
Memphis State University

Paper presented to the Newspaper Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, August 1991. Funds for this research were provided by The ANPA Foundation, Scripps Howard Foundation and more than a dozen newspaper organizations.

A Field Study of Newspaper in Education's Impact in Cultivating Future Newspaper Readers

When a 40-year veteran of the newspaper industry spoke to a college journalism class recently at a large urban university, he said flatly, "You people don't like news. You don't care about civic affairs. You're not interested in what goes on in your city."[1]

The "you" was not that particular audience so much as a category the students represented--18-29-year-olds, whose newspaper readership continues to decline,[2] causing some analysts to refer to this as the "age of indifference."[3]

This continued alienation of young readers, combined with the overall decline in daily newspaper circulation,[4] has caused some to wonder if the problems faced by the industry "might be not cyclical but fundamental and permanent."[5]

The failure of newspapers to attract young readers has sparked a generation of research aimed at documenting and describing nonreaders and explaining why they don't read.[6] One of the latest, a survey of 1,000 high school students, concluded teenagers don't read newspapers because it is too much like work, unlike the passivity of television viewing.[7] Still other research has focused on changes in newspaper content as a means of solving the problem.[8]

Over the past 12 years, a small part of the research has attempted to document whether the Newspaper in Education program, which places daily newspapers in elementary and secondary classrooms, has any effect in cultivating future newspaper readers and subscribers.

While publishers say a primary goal in supporting the NIE is to turn youngsters into newspaper readers and subscribers as adults,[9] there is no convincing evidence that the program actually does this.

An analysis of previous research convinced the present investigators that a more complex research approach than has been undertaken previously was needed to document whether NIE is meeting this goal.

Successful documentation of a link between school newspaper use and future readership should be the impetus for publishers to increase their participation in the program, which already provides a significant community service.

Background and Review of Related Literature

Roughly one-half of the 1,475 members of the American Newspaper Publishers Association sponsor NIE programs and these participating newspapers represent 86% of daily circulation.[10] Although the program has been around slightly longer, The ANPA Foundation, which began its sponsorship in 1961, is credited with bringing it to its present massive size. In addition to the estimated 700 programs in the United States during the school year, NIE sponsors an annual National Newspaper Week, which involves the distribution of more than three million newspapers in schools. Some 500 newspapers and reading councils in 50 states, four Canadian provinces and eight foreign countries participate in the annual event.[11]

Evidence to date supports the belief that NIE is an effective teaching tool and has already achieved some desired educational goals. Students not only become more skillful newspaper readers, but also increase their general reading comprehension and vocabulary skills. Oral communication skills also improve because students can ask better questions when they are more well informed.[12] In addition, NIE increases students' political awareness and feelings of civic responsibility as well as their appreciation for a free press.[13]

More recently, a year-long project on the effects of newspaper instruction on at-risk teenagers (those likely to become school dropouts) resulted in improved reading and writing abilities.[14] Reading was the focus of another recent study that showed teachers in the primary grades, who used newspapers as the sole means of teaching reading, reported their students reached a higher level than did those with any traditional texts.[15]

An annotated bibliography of more than one hundred articles shows the variety of subjects, grade levels, content and innovative manner in which newspapers are being used in the classroom.[16] A number of articles reveal some teachers enthusiastically boost newspapers as teaching tools and the NIE, in particular. Typical is the statement by one teacher that "To limit the role of newspapers in schools to journalism education is to do everyone a disservice."[17]

Other teachers make a case for increased use of newspapers for classroom instruction because newspapers are history, deal in reality, are models for clear, concise writing and have diverse content that provides something for every student.[18]

While these studies and teacher testimonials indicate the program is an educational aid and a community service, an analysis of NIE research indicates there is still no well-documented link between NIE instruction and adult newspaper use. [19]

What some of the studies do show is that NIE may provide some of the prerequisites associated with later adult newspaper reading and subscribing.[20]

First, two major studies by the Newspaper Advertising Bureau showed slight evidence that having the newspaper at school may substitute for the student's not having a newspaper at home, a key determinant of later newspaper use. Yet, while school newspaper use made a significant difference in black adults' subscribing, findings among whites or among combined races showed little difference in adult newspaper use.[21]

Two other smaller studies of high school students produced conflicting results--one finding classroom use had "no effect at all" on newspaper use outside class among students in 10 high schools[22] and the other concluding that classroom use led to a "significantly higher" rate of daily newspaper use among 100 tenth graders.[23]

The only study using college students to determine NIE effects failed to identify consistent, discrete differences in newspaper use based on earlier exposure to newspapers in school, although the school use group had a more consistent newspaper reading habit.[24]

On the more positive side, researchers who used pre- and post-tests over a school year to clearly identify students with heavy, light and no exposure to NIE found more direct program influences. Those students with heavy exposure enjoyed reading newspapers, had less trouble reading them, expected to read the newspaper more the following year and expressed stronger beliefs in the importance of freedom of the press.[25]

Taking the Challenge

Research to date reveals enough evidence of other positive effects from exposure to the NIE to challenge investigators to attempt again to answer definitively the elusive question: Does the NIE experience lead to greater adult readership and subscribership?

Two distinct problems with previous research emerge from this overview. One solves itself--the recency of the program. NIE has been in operation since the early 1960s. However, the more effective programs that developed teacher training workshops and similar quality controls are only about 15 years old, which means attempts to measure NIE's effect on adult readership 10 or 12 years ago were premature.

The second problem is methodological. Previous researchers asked broad questions that would be unlikely to differentiate between casual newspaper use and participation in real NIE programs. There is also no indication of efforts to cue respondents' memories through aided-recall methods even though they were asked to remember events and behavior from their adolescent years or earlier. In addition, previous researchers have had difficulty controlling independent variables, such as the newspaper in the home and the length and intensity of NIE exposure. All of these difficulties are addressed in the present study.

Methodology

The study site was Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, which has a well-established and pervasive NIE program in place since 1969. This was deemed an advantageous site because of the longevity and extensiveness of the NIE program and because of a heterogeneous population, which is one-half black and covers a wide range of income levels.

This study first attempted to deal with the memory problem inherent in any research in which respondents are asked to recall past behaviors and events. Toward this end, focus groups funded by mini-grants through The ANPA were scheduled Dec. 7, 1989, Feb. 12 and Feb. 28, 1990. Participants were screened for two criteria: age 18 to 34 and having attended one of the 50 schools in the Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, area listed as having extensive NIE programs.

Researchers used focus group procedures suggested by Broom and Dozier,[26] and sessions revealed six key concepts believed to be associated with memories of an NIE experience. The concepts were used to frame items for a questionnaire, which was designed and pretested in April 1990.

The "field test" was funded by grants from The ANPA Foundation, The Scripps Howard Foundation, the International Circulation Managers Association and a dozen newspapers including The Columbus (OH) Dispatch.

Telephone interviewers, using a random digit dialing with replacement procedure, completed 420 surveys by March, 1991. However, two screening questions resulted in a less-than-random sample. To qualify for the interview, subjects had to be between the ages of 18 and 34 and had to have attended elementary, junior high or high school in Memphis or Shelby County. This procedure was used to increase the sample percentage likely to have experienced an NIE program. The research goal was to study NIE's cultivation effects, not to determine what percentage of young adults in the county had been exposed to NIE.

Hypotheses

Based on the last 12 years of studies on the possible cultivating effects of Newspaper in Education programs in the United States, the following hypotheses were tested:

H1—Exposure to an NIE-type program results in more newspaper use by young adults.

H2—The relationship hypothesized in H1 will remain even when controlled for parental newspaper use.

H3—NIE exposure will result in more current newspaper use by young adults who experienced less newspaper exposure at home.

H4—Greater extent of NIE exposure is associated with higher levels of current newspaper use.

H5—Greater perceived effects of NIE exposure is associated with higher levels of current newspaper use.

H6—The combination of greater extent and effects of NIE is associated with higher levels of current newspaper use.

Operational definitions. In all hypotheses, NIE exposure is measured by respondents' answer to the following questionnaire item:

> Now I'm going to read something to you very slowly, and I want you to try to think back to your school days:
>
> Some teachers use the newspaper in classes to help in their subject lessons such as: American government, art, civics, consumer math, economics, English, history, psychology or sociology.
>
> In some schools, copies of the newspaper are actually brought into class. The papers arrive in bundles, and each student gets a copy. Students read sections of the newspaper at their desks like a class textbook. Sometimes the copies or sections of the papers are already in the classroom when you arrive, but the teacher still has students read parts of the paper and and the class talks about news or editorials – sometimes even the business pages.
>
> Do you think you participated in one of these classes that used the newspaper this way in elementary school, junior high or high school:
> __yes __no __more than one class

Current newspaper use is measured by three questionnaire items: 1) yesterday readership of a daily newspaper, 2) being in a household that subscribes to a daily newspaper and 3) number of weekday days usually read a daily newspaper. Relying on multiple measures of current use improves validity but reduces reliability because more people say they read the newspaper yesterday; the mean number of days usually read is 3.9, but variance is high; and subscribing is the most severe test of newspaper use.

Young adults for this study is the sample of telephone interviewees between the ages of 18 and 34, the consistent measure of "young adults" used by the newspaper industry over time.

Parental newspaper use is measured by three variables in the study: 1) frequency with which respondents remembered their parents reading the newspaper in the home when the respondent was between the ages of 6 and 16; 2) the frequency with which respondents said they and their "parents shared reading the newspaper or discussed things in the paper"; and, 3) respondents' report of whether their parents subscribed to a daily newspaper.

Greater extent of NIE exposure is measured by several questionnaire items that tested the length and breadth of exposure to an NIE program, and greater perceived effect of NIE exposure is measured by four 5-point scales including: 1) how well the NIE experience was remembered, 2) how enjoyable the experience was, 3) the quality of the learning experience and 4) how much the experience increased an interest in reading the newspaper.

Findings

Outcomes of the first three hypotheses are depicted in Table 1. The top comparison (including the entire sample) indicates that, although all three measures of current use are higher for those exposed to an NIE-type program, none of the differences is statistically significant. This pattern pertains for most of the other comparisons shown in the table. From a statistical standpoint, H1 is rejected.

The remainder of the table's comparisons are based on levels that control for parental newspaper use: parents' frequency of reading, interaction with children involving the newspaper, subscribing and a combination of these three variables. In spite of nearly consistent outcomes, that NIE exposure results in greater current newspaper use at any level of parental newspaper use, few of the direct comparisons show statistically significant differences. In fact, as shown by the mean days per week the paper is now read (in parentheses), statistically significant differences do exist at the $p < .001$ level for every category of parental use. But when controls are added for NIE exposure, virtually all of the statistical differences disappear. Thus the second hypothesis is rejected and NIE exposure is seen as less effective than parental newspaper use.

The third hypothesis addresses a finding in the literature that NIE exposure can substitute to some extent for parental newspaper use. This hypothesis' test is seen in Table 1's presentation of the lower parental use levels. As before, there are differences in line with the hypothesis in each of the low parental use levels of less reading, low interaction and non-subscribing. However there are no statistically significant differences for any of the measures dealing with low parental newspaper use.

There is a statistically significant difference, however, when the measures are combined (last two sets in Table 1), and these differences are strongest among the combined low parental-use group where percentages are higher for those in NIE and where the NIE group's current days reading now exceeds that of the non-NIE group by an entire day on average. But, in all, the lack of statistically significant differences among the low parental use groups results in rejecting Hypothesis 3.

The last three hypotheses deal with extent and effect of NIE exposure. These dependent variables are combinations of measures about how extensive (time and depth) the best-remembered NIE program was and its quality. Both of the scales were combined to form the last dependent variable.

As seen in Table 2, the outcome of these scale tests were mixed. Hypothesis 4 states that a more extensive program results in higher current newspaper use, but the only statistically significant outcome is in the association between NIE extent and current number of days reading.

The effect scale of Hypothesis 5 earns statistically significant differences in yesterday readership and in the association with current number of days reading. Hypothesis 6, which combines the two scales, shows a statistically significant association only in current days reading, but not on the other two use measures.

Of the last three hypotheses, only Hypothesis 5 dealing with effect is tentatively supported based on two of the three measures of current newspaper use, even though subscribership is slightly higher for those not in an NIE program.

In all, then, of the six hypotheses, only one receives tentative support from the analysis of data. But there is a suggestion in the data related to the tentatively supported Hypothesis 5. It is reasonable to suspect that mere exposure to an NIE program (being in one) is insufficient, and that even the extent of the program (its duration and depth) fails to increase newspaper use. However, the program's effect — how well it was remembered, if the experience increased interest in newspapers, the quality of the learning experience and, especially, the enjoyment level — may be the key to cultivating future newspaper readers through NIE.

Of Babies and Bath Water

An unbiased observer will view these data and correctly assess that there is perhaps more support for the NIE program than can be concluded from lack of statistically significant differences:

1) In the vast majority of comparisons throughout, exposure to NIE is associated with slightly higher levels of current newspaper use.

2) There are only two "reversals," where no NIE exposure showed greater current use, and the reversals are within 1 percentage point or a few tenths of a scale score point. Predicted differences, where they do exist, are often several percentage or fractions of scale points.

3) The household subscribing variable may not be a very good measure because respondents could qualify as a yes response if they were living with their parents or friends who subscribed. [In fact, there was a control for if the respondent was the subscriber, but cell size for this group was too small for meaningful analysis.]

4) The best measure of current use seems to be current days per week the newspaper is read. This variable not only shows the most significant differences, but they are almost totally consistent in positive effects for NIE exposure.

Is it a mistake to say that NIE exposure has no bearing on current newspaper use? Shall we throw the baby out with the bath water for lack of statistically significant differences?

Here we must step away from the most rigorous interpretation of "real" differences and look at meaningful differences, in this case differences that may have profound effects on the newspaper industry. For example, Stone and Trotter discussed an unusually high correlation of +.81 with an r^2 of .64 they hoped to use in predicting newspaper circulation levels.[27] They discovered, however, that even such a powerful statistical finding, rarely reported in social science research, was not very helpful in prediction: .64 is only 14 percentage points higher than a 50-50 chance guess.

This study of NIE and young adult subscribers finds few statistically significant differences, and those differences that do support NIE give it only a few percentage points edge. However, these may be very meaningful differences indeed. The decline in newspaper readership among young adults is now a generation-long trend resulting in a 1990 "everyday" reading of less than 30 percent for the 18-29 age group.[28]

The Newspaper in Education program is among the largest and most pervasive efforts to put newspapers in the hands of youngsters at their most impressionable age. If NIE, at its present operational level, can cultivate even a small percentage of young adults who might otherwise not have been future readers, the industry should consider the program a success worth building on.

This study cannot conclude that NIE results in increased newspaper use by young adults. But the data suggest further analysis with a larger sample before making a potentially disastrous Type II error of rejecting the hypotheses when they may be valid. The implications of an "enjoyable" NIE experience certainly warrant further research.

Notes

[1] Speech March 18, 1991 by Robert S. McCord, senior editor of *The Arkansas Gazette*, to journalism students at Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee, as part of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' Editor-in-Residence program.

[2] Mark Fitzgerald, "A Year of Retrenchment," *Editor and Publisher*,Jan. 5, 1991, p. 9.

[3] "Age of Indifference," survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, 1990.

[4] N. Christian Anderson, "Newspapers Begin 'R & D' to Discover What the Future Holds for Them," *American Society of Newspaper Editors Bulletin*, January 1989, p. 4.

[5] Fitzgerald, *op.cit*., p. 9.

[6] See for example Bruce Westley and Werner J. Severin, "A Profile of the Daily Newspaper Nonreader," *Journalism Quarterly*, 41: 45-50 (Winter 1964); Galen R. Rarick, "Differences Between Daily Newspaper Subscribers and Nonsubscribers; *Journalism Quarterly*, 50: 265-270 (Summer 1973); Paula Poindexter "Daily Newspaper Nonreaders: Why They Don't Read," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56: 764-770 (Winter 1979); Judith K. Burgoon and Michael Burgoon, "Predictors of Newspaper Readership," *Journalism Quarterly*, 57: 589-596 (Winter 1986); Jeff Sobol and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "Newspaper Nonreaders: A National Profile," *Journalism Quarterly*, 58: 9-13 (Spring 1981); Laurence B. Lain, "Steps Toward a Comprehensive Model of Newspaper Readership," *Journalism Quarterly*, 63: 69-74, 121 (Spring 1986).

[7] Cathy J. Cobb Walgren, "Why Teenagers Do Not 'Read All About It,'" *Journalism Quarterly*, 67: 346 (Summer 1990).

[8] Leo Burnett, "The Teenage Market," Report from Media Research (November 1983).

[9] The American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation, *Foundation Annual Report 1986* (Washington, D. C.: The ANPA Foundation, 1986), pp. 2-4.

[10] Discussion with Betty Sullivan, manager Newspaper in Education, The ANPA Foundation, Reston, Virginia, March 25, 1991.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Edward F. DeRoche, "Newspapers in Education: What We Know," *Newspaper Research Journal* 2: 3: 59-61 (Spring 1981). See also Edward F. DeRoche and Linda B. Skover, "Newspapers for Teaching and Learning Reading, *Newspaper Research Journal* 4: 2: 23-30 (Winter 1983)

[13] Newspaper Advertising Bureau, "Assessing the Impact of Newspaper in Education Programs: Changes in Student Attitudes, Newspaper Reading, and Political Awareness," (New York: NAB, September 1982).

[14] Barbara Palmer, "Effects of Newspaper-Based Instruction on Reading Vocabulary, Reading Comprehension and Writing Peformance of At-Risk Middle and Secondary School Students," Report published by the Florida Department of Education, Tallahassee, Florida, 1990.

[15] Ake Edfeldt, "Teaching Analytical Reading with Newspapers as the Sole Teaching Text," published research report, University of Stockholm, Sweden, 1990.

[16] Edward F. DeRoche, "Annotated Bibliography of Articles in Educational Periodicals: Newspapers as a Teaching-Learning Tool," College of Education, University of San Diego, March 1981; revised May 1986.

[17] Linda Skover and Joan Abeles, "Extra! Extra! Newspapers in Education," *Media and Methods*, February 1983, p. 25.

[18] Paul E. Beals, "The Newspaper in the Classroom: A Rationale for Its Use," *Reading World*, October 1983, p. 69. See also Paul E. Beals, "The Newspaper in the Classroom: Some Notes on Recent Research," *Reading World*, May 1984, p. 381.

[19] Gerald Stone, "Measuring Adult Readership Potential of the Newspaper in Education Program," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 9: 2: 77-85 (Winter 1988).

[20] Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc., "The Influence of Childhood Exposure to Newspapers on Adult Newspaper Habits," (New York: NAB, 1977) and Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc., "Patterns of Exposure to News in the Mass Media"(New York: NAB, July 1978).

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Mary Benedict, David H. Weaver and J. Herbert Altschull, "High School Students and the Newspaper: Educating Media Consumers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 53: 280-286.

[23] Linda Rowe,"The Results of an Informal Survey of the Newspaper Reading Habit of Selected NIE and Non-NIE Students " (Pennsylvania: Shippensburg State College, 1977), discussed in Stone, "Measuring Adult Readership Potential of the Newspaper in Education Program," p. 80.

[24] John Windhauser and Gerald C. Stone, "Effects of NIE on Adult Newspaper Use," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 3: 1: 22-31, (October 1981). See also Gerald C. Stone and Roger V. Wetherington Jr., "Confirming the Newspaper Reading Habit," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56: 554-61, 566.

[25] Newspaper Advertising Bureau, "Assessing the Impact of Newspaper in Education Programs: Changes in Student Attitudes, Newspaper Reading, and Political Awareness (New York: NAB, September 1982).

[26] Glen M. Broom and David M. Dozier, *Using Research in Public Relations: Applicants to Program Management* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), pp. 325-9.

[27] Gerald C. Stone and Edgar P. Trotter," Community Traits and Prediction of Circulation, *Journalism Quarterly*, 58: 3: 460 (Autumn 1981).

[28] "General Social Survey," (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1991).

Table 1: Current Newspaper Use by NIE Exposure (H1, H2 and H3)

	Yesterday Readership	Mean Days Usually Read	Household Subscribes
In NIE Program *(n=275)*	**56%**	**4.0**	**53%**
Not in NIE *(n=145)*	52%	3.9	49%
Parents read very frequently (n=242):		(4.3)	
In NIE Program	**60%**	**4.4**	**60%**
Not in NIE	59%	3.9*	55%
Parents read less frequently (n=161):		(3.3)***	
In NIE Program	**50%**	**3.4**	**42%**
Not in NIE	43%	3.1	37%
High parent/child interaction (n=109):		(4.8)	
In NIE Program	**69%**	**5.0**	**58%**
Not in NIE	70%[a]	4.4**	57%
Low parent/child interaction (n=211):		(3.7)***	
In NIE Program	**52%**	**3.8**	**54%**
Not in NIE	52%	3.5	52%

(table 1 continues)

(table 1 continued)

	Yesterday Readership	Mean Days Usually Read	Household Subscribes
Parents subscribed (n=353):		(4.0)	
In NIE Program	**58%**	**4.0**	**54%**
Not in NIE	55%	3.7	50%
Parents didn't subscribe (n=47):		(3.4)	
In NIE Program	**41%**	**3.5**	**40%**
Not in NIE	39%	3.3	41%[a]
Parents scored high on use measures (n=172):		(4.4)	
In NIE Program	**62%**	**4.5**	**53%**
Not in NIE	62%	4.0*	49%
Parents scored low on use measures (n=86):		(3.4)***	
In NIE Program	**57%**	**3.7**	**62%**
Not in NIE	39%	2.6***	54%

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[a] In these two instances, NIE non-participants scored higher on use

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table 2: Extent, Effect and Combined NIE Exposure Scales Compared with Current Newspaper Use (H4, H5 and H6)

	NIE Extent Scale *(mean=5.2)*	NIE Effect Scale *(mean=14.4)*	Two Scales Combined *(mean=22.5)*
Yesterday Readership:			
yes *(n=145)*	5.2	15.0	22.9
		$p < .01$	
no *(n=120)*	5.3	13.7	22.0
Mean Days Usually Read *(n=249)*: (Spearman r_s)	+.11 p=.02	+.21 $p < .001$	+.20 p=.001
Household Subscribes:			
yes *(n=136)*	5.4	14.3	22.3
no *(n=122)*	5.0	14.7	22.8

CASUISTRY:
A MORAL PARADIGM FOR JOURNALISTS

David Boeyink
Associate Professor
School of Journalism
Indiana University
Bloomington, Ind. 47405
(812)855-9821

Qualitative Studies Division
AEJMC Convention
Boston, Massachusetts
August 7, 1991

This research was supported by a grant from the Poynter Center for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

CASUISTRY:
A MORAL PARADIGM FOR JOURNALISTS

Industry-wide codes of ethics in journalism offer high-minded standards of professional conduct. Whether the code speaks for the Society of Professional Journalists, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, or the Radio and Television News Directors Association, journalists are admonished to be truthful and fair, and whenever possible, to avoid harming innocent subjects.

But what should be done about a story of judicial misconduct that can only be told with anonymous sources? And should a photo of a dead child and his family be shown to alert parents to the need for water safety? Did George Bush's use of negative commercials require journalists to balance their stories with equal attention to Michael Dukakis's "negative" commercials?

The dilemma journalists face in applying abstract ethical principles to complex practical cases highlights a major problem for applied ethics: How is the gap between general ethical principles and concrete decisions to be bridged?

Casuistry, a case-centered methodology for resolving ethical issues, offers a way of bridging this gap. Although long discredited, casuistry's attempt to develop policy guidelines establishes a needed middle ground between principles and practice. Casuistry begins with an analysis of cases, a strategy which takes the complexity of real ethical problems in the profession seriously. At the same time, it seeks to move beyond individual cases in establishing general guidelines which reflect the important ethical norms imbedded in these cases.

Missing in both historical and contemporary discussions, however, is a clear paradigm for the casuistic method. This paper will attempt to establish that paradigm by identifying the key features of casuistry. The establishment of a code of ethics at a small newspaper, as well as a controversy over the use of anonymous sources, will provide cases in which to explore casuistry's relevance to ethical debates within the profession.

Philosophical roots: a deep division

One might characterize the division between principles and practice as a reflection of the interests of two diverse groups: ivory-tower philosophers and pragmatic journalists. But the conflict runs deeper. Theoretical debates in philosophy, from which journalism ethics often begins, offer two different accounts of morality:

> one that seeks eternal, invariable principles, the practical implications of which can be free of exceptions or qualifications, and another, which pays closest attention to the specific details of particular moral cases and circumstances.[1]

Philosophers such as Henry Sidgwick, G.E. Moore, W.D. Ross and John Rawls have focused ethical analysis on the search for abstract principles. These philosophers have "set out to define the abstract relationships between, say, the 'good' and the 'right' in completely general terms."[2] However logically consistent, these principles do not provide answers to many concrete issues--especially not the most troubling issues on which guidance is needed.[3]

The reaction against the claims of universal principles has often been to retreat to individual judgment and a denial of the value of principles except as disposable guidelines. Joseph Fletcher's Situation Ethics[4] has come to symbolize this move to relativism: Because each situation is unique, individuals must decide what is right in the context of each situation. Circumstances count for everything; principles for almost nothing.

Michael Bayles offers a slightly different version of these methodological extremes. For Bayles the chasm yawns between deductivism and pragmatic eclecticism. Bayles recognizes that most applied ethics reach decisions on policy or action by applying principles to cases (statements of fact). But theory itself offers no way to classify facts that allows for a neat application of principles.[5]

From the other side of the chasm, the goal of pragmatic eclecticism, following John Dewey, "is to resolve the conflicts in a way that enables action to proceed."[6] But the result here is a lack of consistency from one crisis to the next, and a focus on what is expedient (usually for those with power), rather than what is right.

Journalism practice shares in this division in more ways than the abstraction of codes of ethics. Journalists frequently lay claim to broad principles, such as a commitment to truth, yet offer little insight into how one moves from that principle to the problem of deciding whether absolute accuracy or clear meaning (through edited language) is more important to the truth of quotations. At other times, journalists argue that decisions are relative--made on a case-by-case basis--without explaining the grounds for the decision or justifying the inconsistency likely to result.

Two of the most widely used journalism ethics texts--Media Ethics, by Clifford Christians, Mark Fackler and Kim Rotzoll;[7] and Groping for Ethics in Journalism, by H. Eugene Goodwin[8]--illustrate that split. Both texts adopt an approach which uses ethical principles and cases. But the clear methodology in the Christians text is deductive. It begins with an identification of ethical theories and proceeds through a series of cases in which those ethical theories are applied from the top down to the facts of the case. Rawls's principles of justice are applied to one case; utilitarianism to another; Judaeo-Christian love to a third.

Goodwin tests the issues (and specific cases within them) by looking to codes of ethics, rather than ethical theories, as the source of standards. But what drives the discussion in Goodwin is clearly the cases themselves, built up through an extensive series of interviews with practicing journalists. Not surprisingly, then, Goodwin offers only a brief methodological framework for analyzing issues and reaching decisions.[9] From the standpoint of method, the title of the book--Groping for Ethics in Journalism--is well-chosen.

Exploring the middle ground

Despite this characterization of the split between abstract principles and cases, ethicists have tried to bridge the gap. In Christian Ethics and Social Policy, Bennett popularized J.H. Oldham's use of "middle axioms." For Bennett, "a 'middle axiom' is more concrete than a universal ethical principle and less specific than a program that includes legislation and political strategy."[10] Middle axioms were a more concrete expression of principles, yet were more general than actual policy. For a journalist, a middle axiom developed from a commitment to fairness might be phrased, "News stories should be balanced by including the perspective of all parties."

Despite the helpful addition of middle axioms, Bennett's approach is clearly deductive: He moves from guiding principles to middle axioms to concrete policy. Authority (and moral content) come from the top, not the bottom. The problem here is that the closer one moves to action or policy, the less "authority" Bennett is willing to claim, precisely because authority rests at the level of abstract principle.[11]

Bayles offers a similar model which uses "bridging principles" to move between the methodological extremes of deductivism and pragmatic eclecticism. Like the others, he begins with ethical principles.[12] But Bayles emphasizes the dynamic role of cases in shaping bridging principles, such as confidentiality or informed consent.[13] The continued analysis of cases and policies is a corrective for these mid-level principles, helping to revise them in light of the ethical principles which they are meant to embody.

The aim of Bennett and Bayles--to link principles and practice--is also at the heart of casuistry, a centuries-old methodology which has gotten increasing attention recently. Casuistry offers a distinctive way of addressing ethical problems, beginning not with principles, but with cases.[14]

Why casuistry?

With its emphasis on the priority of cases and the use of precedent in shaping policy, casuistry offers a method already used in fragmented form by journalists. Key elements of the casuistic method are a part of debates about the ethics of journalists' actions or newsroom policies. For example, a review of the arguments in the 1985-86 Journalism Ethics Report of the Society of Professional Journalists contained appeals to precedent,[15] midlevel guidelines for policy on confidentiality,[16] and the sorting of cases into categories based on factual differences.[17] While none of these journalists was consciously practicing casuistry, they were using its key features the same way a casuist would.[18]

The fittingness of journalism as an arena for casuistry is illustrated graphically in Jonsen and Toulmin's contemporary defense of casuistry.

> The casuists drew on the traditional list of circumstances--"who, what, where, when, why, how and by what means."[19]

What journalist would not feel at home in a ethical method which gives that kind of prominence to journalism's classical focus on the 5 "W's" and "H?"

Despite that fittingness, little conscious attention has been given to casuistry as a method in journalism ethics. That attention could have three advantages. First, casuistry could help journalists understand and use a case-oriented approach to ethics. For example, its focus on precedent would be a valuable corrective to misguided appeals to the ultimate relativism of situation ethics. And its demand for consistency would encourage the development of practical general guidelines for policy where they do not now exist.[20]

Second, a conscious exploration of casuistry, as opposed to its serendipitous use, could help to avoid the pitfalls of the casuistic method. Blaise Pascal, the 17th century mathematician,, whose The Provincial Letters is credited with the demise of Jesuit casuistry, correctly pointed out the potential for casuistry to be abused. Unless some clear ground is established for sorting out the relevant details of cases, virtually any action could be (and was) justified.[21] The same risk applies to the short-sightedness and self-interest of journalists under deadline.[22]

Third, casuistry offers the opportunity to clarify the ambiguity surrounding the use of cases in ethical theory. While virtually every ethical theory uses cases, what is not always clear is the function they play in reaching ethical decisions. For absolutist theories, cases are the passive raw material to which moral principles are applied. Cases illustrate the value of principles; they do not shape those principles. Conversely, situation ethics uses cases to deny the role of principles. Each case is unique; though principles may be used as guidelines, they can also be ignored at will.

But casuistry offers a third use for cases. For the casuist, cases are central to the process of establishing policy. In contrast to absolutism, principles are not applied to cases, but grow out of them. In contrast to situation ethics, cases don't simply illustrate the uniqueness of each situation, but seek out similarities in cases which can set a precedent or alter policy.

Casuistry defined

Although casuistry, as a methodology focusing on cases, has origins in early Greek philosophy, it was developed as a self-conscious method in the Middle Ages. Roman Catholic Jesuits used casuistry as a way of adapting religious ideals to worldly problems. Unfortunately, casuistry often degenerated into a rationalization of the behavior of the rich and powerful. With its focus on intention and probabilism, casuistry became "the art of quibbling with God."[23] Blaise Pascal attacked these abuses in The Provincial Letters, driving casuistry into retreat for centuries.

More critically, identifying the key features of casuistry is difficult, in part because the Jesuits themselves, though its key practitioners, never outlined the methodology they practiced. As a consequence, later definitions of casuistry have varied widely. With its focus on context, cases and circumstances, casuistry has been equated with any form of applied ethics, including the deductive top-down application of principles to practice.[24] At the other extreme, casuistry has almost been a synonym for situation ethics, despite the inherent differences in method and the use of precedent.[25] Even the two major 20th-century texts which defend casuistry offer differing models of casuistry that need to be reconciled.

It is to these models that we will now turn. Our goal will be to sketch out as clearly as possible an operational definition of casuistry capable of being applied to decision-making in the practice of journalism.

The beginning point is clear: Casuistry is about "the analysis and classification of 'cases' and 'circumstances.'"[26] Cases are not simply illustrations of moral principle or the passive circumstances to which principles are applied like a template. Rather, the circumstances of cases help in identifying the moral principles at stake and assist in the formulation of policy. Casuistry's objective is to integrate the analysis of cases into the process of making ethical decisions.

In their recent historical analysis of the practice of casuistry, Albert Jonsen and Stephen Toulmin identified six steps in the casuistic method. These steps will be reviewed in light of their relevance to a working contemporary model of casuistry. Kenneth Kirk's earlier casuistic analysis,[27] coming from the perspective of Anglican moral theology, will be used both as a valuable corrective and complement to Jonsen and Toulmin's typology.[28]

Three of the steps identified by Jonsen and Toulmin as central to Jesuit's casuistry are of marginal value.

1. Maxims.

The use of maxims was heavily employed in the resolution of cases by the Jesuits. Aphorisms were inserted in the discussion of cases as a kind of common wisdom. The maxim "force may be repulsed by force" justified self-defense. Compromise in a political conflict was grounded in the maxim, "A lesser evil can be tolerated to prevent a greater."[29]

One doesn't need to look far to find such maxims in journalism. Despite its questionable status, "the public's right to know" frequently serves as a "self-evident" maxim. Journalists justify publishing what many consider private information (the selling price of homes, divorces) are justified because "it's a public record." "Journalists report the news; we don't make the news." "Freedom of the press means the freedom to be irresponsible." "Journalism is the first rough draft of history."

Maxims such as these are not necessarily false. But in casuistry (and often in journalism), maxims are rarely argued. Unless they are analyzed, debated, and integrated into the argument, they can hardly serve as a solid ground for ethical decisions. More likely, they exaggerate casuistry's vulnerability to cultural (and professional) shortsightedness.

2. Probability.

Likewise, the arcane use of probability has proven more damaging to casuistry than helpful to shaping justifiable arguments. Probabilism in casuistry referred not to the utilitarian probability of future consequences, but to the probability that an expert's opinion on a case was likely to be correct. Expert opinions on clear-cut cases were the most probable; the more one added complicating factors, the less probable it was that the expert opinion was right. The practical effect of this practice was to focus the debate on the external expert, rather than on the validity of the argument itself. While the use of external opinions on cases does raise the question of probability (an expert's opinion on the use of anonymous sources may be more probable than a lay person's), reliance on internal validity of arguments for any policy is preferable. Even without casuistry's historic distortion of probabilism in the cause of accommodation to the rich and powerful, probabilism is of little value.

3. Cumulative arguments

According to Jonsen and Toulmin, casuists made a practice of piling up arguments, one after another, in defense of a position. Often no attempt was made to demonstrate logical validity or even the coherence of arguments. Arguments were not tied together in a single argument, but simply set beside each other.[30]

That description is hardly an endorsement for the integrity of the casuistic process. For the casuist, if the argument fits, wear it. We have come to expect more from ethical argument, in particular, an integration of arguments into a single, defensible position.

Casuistry's fondness for cumulative arguments does carry one interesting reminder. The aim of the casuist is not theoretical agreement, but agreement on policy. Jonsen and Toulmin believe that one of casuistry's advantages is that agreement can be reached at the level of policy in spite of differences in principle.[31] Journalists may be particularly suited to that casuistic methodology. For example, a recent study on the naming of rape victims showed that journalists agreed with any theoretical argument (utilitarian, formalist, Judaeo-Christian love) as long as it agrees with their position on policy.[32]

The rejection of cumulative arguments is not a rejection of argument. The justification of policy and the resolution of cases require argument. But it will be persuasion of a different kind than the piling on any argument that happens to fit.

More valuable for contemporary practice are the remaining three steps.

1. Paradigm and analogy

This first step actually consists of two distinct operations: the identification of a self-evident case or paradigm and the subsequent examination of similar cases (analogies). The paradigm case offered what casuists hoped would be a beginning point of moral agreement. For example, a casuistic strategy to the debate over the use of anonymous sources might begin by asserting, "Charges against public officials made in a public meeting should always be attributed to their sources." The point of the paradigm case is to establish an anchor for the debate, from which variations can now be tested. ("What about cases in which the charges are made only to a reporter?" "What about charges against a local small-business owner?")

Despite the focus on the case, rather than an ethical principle, the paradigm case is critical because the ethical principle(s) at stake are implicitly established. While the moral dimensions in this example are more complex, two implicit moral principles here are clearly truth-telling and fairness.

If this assessment of the function of the paradigm is correct, the direct identification of ethical principles (rather than the use of a paradigm case) as a beginning point for analysis is not far removed from the intent of the casuist. In fact, that is often the way Sissela Bok proceeds in her analysis of lying.[33] Yet her method in other respects fits the casuistic model. Her analysis is intensely case-based, proceeding to develop distinctions in lying through an examination of actual practices and their justification. Indeed, Jonsen and Toulmin cite Bok as one of a growing number of present-day casuists.[34]

Similarly, Kirk's own analysis of the casuistic method clearly identifies principles as an explicit part of the process.[35] It isn't surprising, then, that Kirk's discussion of casuistry does not mention the paradigm case as a critical step.

The only objection to substituting principles for paradigm cases is that beginning with principles appears to be a return to the deductive method casuistry rejects. In part that criticism is well-placed, particularly when one looks at the Kirk's allegiance to certain, "immutable" principles, including "fasting, prayer, almsgiving."[36] Nonetheless, the explicit identification of moral principle need not violate the spirit of casuistry if it is understood (as Kirk does), that these principles are given content only by examining them in the context of real cases and using them to shape concrete policies. It is one thing to affirm the value of fairness; it is quite another to show what fairness means in the context of the use of anonymous sources.[37]

Perhaps the best way to envision this stage is in terms of both principles and paradigm. If that is done, the parallels between casuistry and a more common method of decision-making in law becomes clear. The focus of casuistry on cases and the identification of principles through the analysis of cases is similar to the practice of common law. Common law identifies principles inductively through cases, not deductively from given principles.[38] Decisions become precedents for use in future cases which have similar relevant features.

Casuistry is thus a kind of common-law ethics which looks at cases to establish precedent. That precedent is then tested, revised, expanded, or contracted based on similar, but not identical, cases. This process of comparing cases is at the core of the casuistic method. Nothing defines it more sharply or more distinctively in relation to other ways of ethical reasoning. Casuistry places cases at the center of the reasoning process. Principles are developed and given content through their operation in cases. They are not inductively established and then applied.

But neither is casuistry another name for situation ethics. Situation ethics emphasizes the uniqueness of each decision; casuistry looks for ways in which cases are similar. Situation ethics allows for the rejection of principles; casuists are bound by precedent.

2. Circumstances

If the goal of casuistry is to classify cases based on their relevant similarities and relevant differences, the key to this method is the identification of circumstances. "Circumstances make the case."[39].

As we noted above, casuists used a list of circumstances well-known to journalists to identify those circumstances: "who, what, where, when, why, how and by what means."[40] One doesn't have to think hard to see the value of such a checklist. The status of the person (who) makes a difference to journalists in deciding whether to publish a controversial story about that person using an anonymous source. The content of the story (what) and the reasons for anonymity (why) would also be central.

But if the identification of circumstances is critical to the classification of cases (e.g. cases in which the use of anonymous sources would be justified), the lack of attention to defining what counts as relevant similarities and differences in a case is also one of the weaknesses of most discussions of casuistry.

No two cases are alike in all respects. But not all differences are relevant to the ethical choice that needs to be made. The fact that a source wanting to remain anonymous has red hair does not make her claim to anonymity more justifiable than someone with black hair. Nor does the claim that two sources who want anonymity both have B.A. degrees from Pepperdine require that their cases must be treated similarly.

However, neither Kirk nor Jonsen and Toulmin offer much insight into what counts as relevant differences and relevant similarities in cases. Kirk, for example, wants the casuist to have "the power to discern between relevant and irrelevant pieces of evidence."[41] But how is this to be done? And what are the characteristics of this circumstances that identify relevance? Though the whole enterprise hangs on separating important from unimportant facts, we have few clues as to how the casuist sorts out critical "differences" and critical "similarities."

One could argue that this ambiguity is an inherent characteristic of casuistry. After all, one cannot predict what the relevant dimensions of cases are before they have been examined. Casuistry wants to maximize an openness to new, unpredicted outcomes. Conditions change, modifying past precedents; new cases arise which are so different they create a whole new classification of cases. As Kirk says, it is to discover "what is right where the right cannot easily be seen."[42] To imagine a pre-determined classification of relevant differences or similarities may be as ill-advised as looking for a priori principles.

This lack of attention to distinguishing the relevant and irrelevant has lead to reliance on the intellectual and moral qualities needed by the casuist, especially discernment.[43] According to Kirk, the value of casuistry depends on someone

> endowed with the necessary genius or temperament for scientific enquiry. It includes the power to see which problems are important and which are relatively unimportant; the power to visualize new combinations of data which will offer a field for fruitful experiment; the power to discern between relevant and irrelevant pieces of evidence.[44]

Kirk lists at least 14 different qualities needed by a casuist, including experience, intelligence, reflection, imagination, disinterestedness, knowledge, openness, sympathy, self-discipline, and a commitment to the moral life.[45] As encompassing as Kirk's list is, his focus on the character of the person practicing the ethical analysis is a valuable warning. The open-ended inquiry of casuistry remains vulnerable precisely to the abuse Pascal indicted, either in the hands of the short-sighted or the self-interested.[46] Journalists, under the pressure of deadlines and operating from within their profession, can be both.

Despite the importance of this focus on the character of the casuist, casuistry would benefit from a closer examination of the grounds for discerning what counts as relevant features of any case. Without providing a complete answer, two key features of relevance can be offered. First, relevance is often tied to the underlying ethical principles in the case. In the case of anonymous sources, a claim for anonymity by a defense contractor employee has weight because of the harm which could come from being named as a whistle blower. Likewise, one can justify publishing a story about government inefficiency based on anonymous sources because of the social utility of the story. When a fact in a case influences an ethical principle--increasing the risk of harm, adding to social utility, or enhancing the truth--that fact is relevant to the resolution of the case. Relevance for many cases means ethical relevance.[47]

Second, relevance is often related to the professional sphere in which it is practiced. The relevance of specific factors can shift, depending whether the case is legal, medical or journalistic. Confidentiality is a perfect example of this phenomenon. In law and medicine confidentiality focuses on the content of a communication between patient and physician, lawyer and client. But in journalism, the whole practice is reversed. Confidentiality focuses on the source, not the message--with the message published or broadcast to millions of people.[48]

3. Resolution

Resolution is the attempt to bring the case to a conclusion. But the casuist has more in mind than simply finding the best solution to a case. By examining cases and assessing their relevant similarities and differences, the casuist tries to develop guidelines in which, as Aristotle argued, similar cases are treated similarly.

The result is what Jonsen and Toulmin call a moral taxonomy, "framed in terms of rules and maxims that are general but not universal or invariable."[49] Such a list of rules would likely be similar to what Bennett calls "middle axioms" and Bayles labels "bridging principles." The moral taxonomy stands between the cases and ethical principles, growing out of the inductive analysis of cases, using paradigms and analogous cases, but also reflecting the ethical principles inherent in the cases.

Precisely that kind of taxonomy can be developed in dealing with an issue such as the use of anonymous sources. For example, the dependence of Janet Cooke's Washington Post story, "Jimmy's World," on a fictitious anonymous source lead many editors to require reporters to give at least one editor the name of any anonymous source. That rule grew out of a practical experience of manipulation, not abstract ethical analysis. At the same time, it reflects the ethical concern for truth-telling that lies at the heart of the case. By examining a range of cases in which anonymous sources were used, one can begin to sort out a more complete moral taxonomy, specifying the conditions in which anonymous sources might be justified.[50]

These midlevel rules are not fixed and immutable. Rather, they are policies based on past precedent. New cases, new conditions could call those policies into question, just as the case of Janet Cooke did in causing editors around the country to revise their guidelines for the use of anonymous sources.[51] When new cases prove existing guidelines inadequate or incomplete, they are open to change.[52]

One of the critical advantages of this openness to revision is the avoidance of exceptions. Cases which do not fit existing policy trigger a revision of policy to take account of the new case, rather than being considered exceptions. The value of avoiding exceptions is recognized by ethicists ranging from staunch absolutists, such as Paul Ramsey, to casuists, such as Kenneth Kirk. Despite their differing ethical perspectives, both Ramsey and Kirk understand the way exceptions undermine ethical principles. For Ramsey, the exception is evidence that the ethical practice needs to be revised to take account of the exception:[53] "Any exceptions must be universal ones."[54] For Kirk, the admission of exceptions challenges the moral authority of the law itself. Moreover, Kirk believes this is the beginning of a moral descent: "for where is our list of exceptions to stop?"[55]

This moral taxonomy is one of casuistry's most critical features. Without it, casuistry degenerates into situation ethics--abandoning method, precedent and principle. But with these rules, a valuable link is established between concrete cases and abstract principles from the bottom up.

Casuistry's ethical claim is that "moral knowledge is essentially particular."[56] That is, ethical principles grow out of real human relationships, not in the abstract. While that claim cannot be fully examined here, it does seem clear that ethical principles are given meaning and content at the level of cases and policy. The tough work in making ethical decisions is not in the identification of ethical principles;

it is in understanding how ethical principles are worked out in the context of life and professional practice. That is the work to which casuistry calls the journalist.

Ethical principles and casuistry

At one level ethical principles are not central to a casuistic method.[57] Jonsen and Toulmin argue that one can avoid disagreement over ethical principles by seeking agreement at the level of precedent and policy.[58] Nonetheless, casuistry necessarily involves ethical principles at a variety of levels.

The most obvious ethical principle required by casuistry is consistency or fairness. The whole point of using analogies--seeking similarities among cases--is to claim the importance of consistency in moral judgment: treating similar cases similarly.

But consistency is hardly a sufficient ethical ground for casuistry. A policy of publishing all the names of victims of crime, including victims of rape, might be consistent, but would hardly be compassionate. One could even be consistent in always granting favorable coverage to the publisher's friends, but hardly have a defensible newsroom policy.

Casuistry offers two correctives to the limits of consistency. First, as we saw above, casuistry builds ethical safeguards into character or virtue. Jonsen and Toulmin capture that quality somewhat ambiguously in arguing for the need for moral discernment; Kirk spells out a more detailed picture of the casuist's character.

No contemporary account of casuistry offers a comprehensive doctrine of virtue.[59] Nor do any of the authors illustrate clearly how these qualities work their way out in the process of doing casuistry. Yet the clear intent is to point toward the value of knowledge, experience, insight and moral commitment. In short, good casuistry requires good character.

Second, casuistry clearly entails an implicit dependence on ethical principles. The paradigm case works as the beginning point of the process only because its ethical content is unambiguous. To assert that a child should not be punished by torture is a clear affirmation that one should avoid doing harm, especially to the innocent and defenseless.[60] To assert that controversial charges made against a public official in a public meeting should always be attributed is a clear affirmation of both fairness (naming both accused and accuser) as well as truth-telling (the identity of the accuser being a relevant fact in the story).

The obvious dependence of casuistry on such underlying principles is not denied by casuists. Indeed, Kirk goes beyond the implicit use of principles in paradigm cases to assert explicitly a set of ethical principles he wants to defend.[61]

Jonsen and Toulmin are more cautious in outlining any set of ethical principles.[62] Yet their objection is not to principles, but to the a priori identification of principles. They see principles of morality growing out of particular cases: in one set of cases, utility; in another, rights and duties.[63].

The value of Jonsen and Toulmin's principle-avoidance is clear if agreement on policy can be reached in the face of disagreement in principle. That was their experience in the debates on the National Commission on the Protection of Human Subjects.[64]

Nonetheless, it is not obvious why a more explicit role for ethical principles is always assumed to be a disadvantage. Jonsen and Toulmin seem to assume that agreement in policy is easier to achieve than agreement in principle. Yet it also seems likely that disagreements over policy may be rooted in disagreements over principle. Any hope of resolving those disagreements may require an exploration of the nature of that disagreement.[65]

Indeed, one wonders how such a exploration could even be avoided? For example, when journalists disagree over the publication of a story which makes damaging charges against a public figure using anonymous sources, the likely debate is over the relative weight of the story's importance (social utility) versus the right of the subject to confront his accuser (fairness). Part of the debate--perhaps a significant part--turns on the fundamental ethical choice between utilitarianism and justice as fairness.

More critically, one could argue with Kirk that casuistry is needed precisely in cases where ethical principles conflict.[66] The example cited above illustrates Kirk's point. Casuistry can be helpful in sorting out the right decision when two ethical principles (social utility and fairness) are in conflict. A more explicit identification of principles may alter, but does not undermine, the casuist's method. Instead of relying on the paradigm case, casuistry can deductively identify the ethical principles at stake in the cases at hand. That strategy, practiced by Sissela Bok, makes analysis more insightful by clarifying the ethical ground for distinguishing among types of cases. The fear of dogmatism and inflexibility in applying universal principles should not prevent the helpful identification of the ethical principles one sees growing out of the case analysis. Nor does the explicit attention to ethical principles need to divert the casuist from the goal of establishing policy.

Casuistry's essential features

If this analysis of casuistry is correct, casuistry has 10 essential features.

1. Case-centered. Cases are at the center of the casuistic process. Because casuistry begins with cases, the

process of reasoning is inductive, rather than deductive. That separates casuistry from applied ethics in which principles are established first, then applied to cases.

2. The paradigm case. Casuistry looks for the paradigm case (a clear-cut case on which all agree) as a point of agreement from which to begin the analysis of more questionable complex cases. One variation on the paradigm case is the identification of the ethical principles at stake in the issue at hand. (These principles are identified inductively through the cases, not deductively.)

3. Precedent. Once agreement is reached on the ethical resolution of any case, that case becomes a precedent for deciding future cases.

4. Analogy. A series of cases related to the paradigm case (or to the precedent already established) are examined, seeking to find analogous cases. Similarities in relevant features of a case strengthen the analogy; differences in relevant features weaken the analogy.

5. Consistency. One of the explicit values of casuistry is thus consistency: treating similar cases similarly.

6. Relevance and ethical principles. Identifying relevant similarities and differences in the circumstances of cases is linked both to the effect of these circumstances on the implicit ethical principles and the sphere in which the

case is placed (journalism, law, medicine, etc.).

7. *Implicit ethical principles*. Although ethical principles are often not an explicit part of the casuist's method, ethical principles play a central role in the determination of the relevant features of cases.

8. *Conscience: discernment and character*. Casuistry requires intellectual and moral expertise. Experience, knowledge, creativity, openness and moral commitment enhance the prospect that ethical decisions will result.

9. *Moral taxonomy*. The goal of casuistry is the resolution of cases, resulting in a moral taxonomy or list of general rules. These precedents or operating guidelines embody both the practical demands of cases and the ethical claims of principles.

10. *Interim guidelines*. These rules or policies are not final. Changing conditions and new cases can alter the guidelines to reflect more accurately both the realities of cases and to maximize the ethical values implicit in those cases. Exceptions to rules are thus avoided.

A test case: the Herald-Times

If these are the essential elements of a casuistic method, is there evidence that such a method would be valuable in establishing newsroom policies? To begin to address this issue, a series of interviews were conducted with editors and reporters of the *Bloomington Herald-Times*. These interviews focused on two areas: the creation of a newsroom code of ethics and a controversy over the use of anonymous sources. The code was chosen because a committee had been formed in 1988 to set standards for newsroom policy on a variety of issues. The focus of the interviews was on the process by which provisions of the code were established. In particular, what role, if any, did casuistry have? Bob Zaltsberg, the editor who created the committee, and all but one of the committee members were interviewed.

The second case involved a story about an abused husband written using an anonymous source. Because the publication and the controversy surrounding it were recent, much of the process behind the decision to publish the story and the consequences of its publication could be recaptured. All of the key participants in the case were interviewed.

Casuistry in the code of ethics

By nearly everyone's account, casuistry played a major role in the shaping of the proposed code of ethics at the Herald-Times. The impetus for the code of ethics itself was rooted in problematic cases. Zaltsberg, who appointed the committee that hammered out the code, gave the committee an list of six issues he wanted addressed, including gifts, tickets, campaign contributions, memberships in organizations and relationships to sources.[67] When asked why he chose these specific areas, Zaltsberg answered by describing in each area one or more cases that troubled him.[68] For him, cases provided the motivation and the beginning point for the debate.

This case-centered approach also drove a great deal of the debate within the committee, especially on questions of gifts and free tickets. For some issues, paradigm cases were used as the beginning points of debate. One case mentioned by virtually every person interviewed was the former Herald-Times reporter who interviewed a diamond company official and returned with a pair of diamond earrings. Such cases marked out clearly unacceptable territory from which one could move toward less dramatic (and more ambiguous) examples.

More commonly, the paradigm began with a positive case. Julie Creek, a former Herald-Times reporter and committee member used that strategy when she began by assuming it was acceptable to take a free cup of coffee, but then asked, "If you have a brownie with your cup of coffee, is that acceptable?"[69] Although the example may not be momentous, this kind of testing of paradigm by moving gradually to more complicated cases is at the heart of the casuistic process.

And these specific cases were central to the discussion within the committee, according to Bill Strother, the committee chairperson. One committee member wondered what to do with rulers sent by a television station at Christmas;[70] another asked, "What do you do about the little old lady who brings you a plant?"[71] More critically, these cases were influential in the shaping of the final policy on gifts, according to Strother.

> People were taking certain gifts...In that way the specifics led to the general discussion and the charge [from Zaltsberg] and then ultimately the recommendations we made.[72]

One of the more interesting examples of comparing cases grew out of the debate over tickets. Here the policy was forged out of a variety of examples. Beginning with the clearest paradigm case, the committee agreed that the newspaper could clearly avoid any conflict of interest if it paid for all tickets. The committee members then raised questions about other cases: (A) accepting free tickets if used for review, (B) accepting a free ticket when you do not review and (C) taking a friend if a pair of tickets is provided. Case A was debated both in the context of costs (buying all tickets would cost several thousand dollars) and the claim that the reviewer served a different role than the paying audience. Case B hinged on the argument that the reviewer needed to keep abreast of a variety of events, not just those reviewed, in order to do the job well. Case C was even defended in cases where the friend served as a sounding board to test evaluations of the performance.[73] In addition, a judgment was also made that free admission to sporting events for sports reporters was not an analogous issue (sports writers use press boxes, not seats in an auditorium) and was not considered as part of this code of ethics provision. This comparison of cases, looking for similarities (analogies) as well as differences, appears to be a form of casuistry at work in the newsroom.

Granted, the debate is often driven by practical issues, rather than profound ethical concerns.[74] No one wanted the bother of sending back plastic rulers or shipping a bag of Vadalia onions back to Texas.[75] Nonetheless, the ethical pressure was still implicit. Steve Higgs, a reporter and committee member, clearly saw the principle (in this case, conflict of interest) at stake in setting the limits on free gifts.[76]

But that kind of implicit role for ethical principles is also characteristic of casuistry. Even Creek, who explicitly said that she wanted the committee to have "an ideological, philosophical discussion," consistently used cases, not principles, to recount her views on the code's provisions. Even though the principles were rarely explicit, "Principles are in most people's minds," Creek said. "The assumption is that you understand that there are unwritten rules."[77]

The overriding goal of casuistry is to develop a moral taxonomy--a list of general rules--as the outcome of the process. Obviously, that was accomplished in this case. Despite differences in perspective on the committee, with several members taking a "hard-nosed" absolutist position against any free gifts or tickets, the committee unanimously approved a code with specific provisions on all six areas they considered. Jonsen and Toulmin believe disagreement can often best be resolved in this process because one focuses on developing practical guidelines, rather than resolving more general disagreements in principle. That appeared to be the case here.

Finally, the casuist argues that the working guidelines are never final. Changing conditions and new cases can alter the guidelines. That may already be happening in the case of the Herald-Times code. Strother said that a new case had arisen involving a reporter who lived near the proposed site of a controversial landfill--a case the code had not anticipated. Strother believes that may require a change to the code--exactly in the way casuistry would envision the evolution of its interim guidelines.

Despite the presence of a number of key elements of the casuistic method in the development of the code of ethics, the claim for the role of casuistry must be limited. First, the debate could not be followed in all its details. The reconstruction of these debates, now nearly three years old, is fragmentary. As a result, one may only be able to say that this looks like casuistry in its key features.

It would also be a serious mistake to make global claims for this case-centered method. As the people and the issues change, the type of ethical debate may also change. In fact, that difference is seen here as well. While cases dominated the debate over gifts, tickets, and friendships with sources, they were less relevant in discussing political contributions. In that case the harm to the newspaper's credibility was clear-cut and required few specific cases to establish the policy. The discussion over membership in community organizations involved both the explicit identification of a principle (freedom) and the use of cases to sort out what level of participation in an organization was acceptable.[78]

Moreover, one could see evidence of the problems that have plagued casuistry in the past, especially its easy justification of distinctions among cases. Why, for example, is free admission to a sporting event different than a concert? One could as easily argue that the availability of the press box means a higher admission fee should be paid. Nor can one escape the irony of debating a code governing reporter/source relationships at a newspaper where the sports editor is a close personal friend of the university basketball coach.

Nonetheless, a limited form of casuistry does seem to have been operating here in a way that proved helpful in shaping a practical newsroom policy. Whatever its flaws, the final policy set limits to the kinds of gifts that could be accepted. The free ticket policy was tightened by the case-oriented debate, rejecting the defensibility of free tickets for friends or for events in which a review was not planned.

The case of the anonymous source

But what about the use of casuistry in the development of guidelines on other issues not covered by the code of ethics? Discussions with Herald-Times editors expose a similar role for a case-oriented method of developing guidelines. Rob Schorman, managing editor, believes that cases, not principles, frequently drive policy at the Herald-Times and other news organizations. "In lots of organizations, people respond in the context of what people say or do one time."[79]

A similar point was made by Janice Rickert, news editor and ethics committee member. Rickert cited a recent story which published the name and address of a man shot by a suspect still at large. The family was now afraid to stay at home. Such cases force journalists to reconsider their policy--to say, "Well, gee, maybe we shouldn't have done that." Rickert believes that in order to understand policy, you have to have been around "the last time it blew up."[80]

Nonetheless, the more complex problem surrounding the use of anonymous sources at the Herald-Times suggests that casuistry was not utilized to develop defensible guidelines, despite its potential to do so.

In the fall of 1990, reporter Dann Denny established contact with a man who said he had been abused psychologically and physically by his wife. The story appeared on November 25, told without the names of either husband or wife.

After publication, the father of the wife called Zaltsberg claiming the story was untrue and that his daughter was identifiable because of details about her in the story. After conversations with the father, the wife, Denny and Lifestyles editor Elizabeth Winkler, Zaltsberg decided to write a column, saying he was unable to determine whose version was true. Moreover, he said that policy on the use of anonymous sources had changed. The Herald-Times would find another way to publish such stories.[81]

To this point, the resolution of this case seems to suggest that a casuistic method is operating. The issue is rooted in a specific case; problems with the case have called existing policy into question; and a new policy has been shaped as a result of this incident.

However, key elements in the casuistic method are missing. Participants disagreed on what existing policy (precedent) was prior to the case. From Zaltsberg's perspective, anonymous sources were not to be used unless there was a compelling reason to do so, and only after he had agreed it was justified.[82] However, Denny said that prior approval was not needed--and wasn't sought in dozens of stories he did over a 10-year period.

Nor is the altered policy (the revised precedent) clear to all the participants. Zaltsberg said that the new policy is changed in now requiring another editor (in Denny's case, Elizabeth Winkler) to be convinced first; that editor then makes the case to Zaltsberg. But Winkler believed that consultation with Zaltsberg was optional.[83]

More critically, the problems with verifying the truth of the husband's story had little effect on the new policy. The central issue in that story pivots on the question of its truth. In his column, Zaltsberg said he was concerned because the information in the story could not be verified and could not be attributed to anyone. In such cases, the newspaper can be mislead by sources.

But one way to verify the truth of the information is to require a second independent source. Zaltsberg himself pointed out that interviewing the wife (as a second source) would have either altered the story or resulted in it not being published. Yet second-source verification is not adopted as a policy standard. The only policy change was procedural: requiring one more editor to approve the use of anonymous sources.

The casuist's goal is to develop practical guidelines which respond to the specific ethical problems of the case.

That was not done here. Yet doing so could have clearly justified a guideline requiring a second independent source to minimize the risk of manipulation. Interestingly, a story by columnist Mike Leonard using a single anonymous source appeared exactly one month after Denny's story.[84] The same questions about the reliability of the information became an issue internally. As long as second-source verification is not a guideline, that risk of manipulation will remain.[85] Moreover, discussions with all the participants in the case reveal little inclination to look for analogous cases.[86]

Virtually none of the elements of a systematic casuistic process seem to be operating in this case, despite its potential to establish a better policy. In particular the process of seeking to establish guidelines based on the analysis of precedents and cases--even the search for consistency--are absent or of marginal significance. While Zaltsberg altered the procedure, he did not change the content of the policy's standards--a retreat from a clear public stand in which he said the newspaper would find another way to tell such stories.[87] Only a vague standard of "compelling interest" and a procedure for approval in which two editors must be convinced of the compelling interest serve as constants from case to case. Casuistry has more to offer than that.

A role for casuistry

Casuistry's role in the resolution of ethical issues in the newsroom is far from clear. At the same time, a few conclusions can be offered.

First, casuistic reasoning can be found in newsrooms. When debating issues such as gifts or the use of free tickets, specific examples drive the debate and shape the final policy.

In a less systematic way, policy is driven by cases in a variety of areas where a problematic case raises questions about existing policy. In the case in which an assault victim's address was published with the assailant still at large, the desk staff needed to reassess their policy on identifying crime victims. Though ethical principles may play a role, a revised precedent is set not by new philosophical insights, but by reacting, in Rickert's words, to the next time "things blow up."

Nonetheless, it is also clear that the lack of a systematic use of the casuistic method can have minimal or negative effects. A controversy over anonymous sources results in a policy change unlikely to correct the problem. Casuistry's focus on the details of cases allows for questionable distinctions to be drawn between practices justified in one realm (sports) and criticized in another (news). Decisions in single cases (the dead body in a coffin) become ill-considered precedents when no one examines the key differences and similarities between the precedent and the new case. In effect, a case-oriented approach without method becomes an ad hoc form of situation ethics.

That's why casuists have regularly emphasized the role of discernment in the practice of casuistry. Analyzing cases means a careful sorting out relevant similarities and differences in cases. It requires moral and intellectual expertise. But as Rob Schorman, Herald-Times managing editor, argued: "People are not usually that analytical. Companies are less likely to be analytical."[88] And journalists under the pressure of deadlines may be least likely of all.[89] Interestingly, Schorman, who was the most interested in engaging in this kind of analysis, was also the most precise in outlining standards under which anonymous sources should be justified.[90]

Nonetheless, the vulnerability to abuse of the Herald-Times' policy on anonymous sources illustrates the need for a more systematic approach to establishing standards. That is a task for which a full-blown casuistic method is perfectly suited. A discerning analysis of cases, trying to establish precedents on the basis of the relevant similarities and differences in a series of cases, can result in defensible practical guidelines--last resort, second-source verification--which bridge the gap between practice and principle.

Journalists may not always practice casuistry in a systematic way. But if casuistry's bottom-up, case-oriented strategy fits their general approach to some ethical issues, a more rigorous, clearly-defined casuistry may provide the ideal means to engage journalists in the debate on ethical issues.

ENDNOTES

[1] Albert Jonsen and Stephen Toulmin, The Abuse of Casuistry: A History of Moral Reasoning, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p. 2.

[2] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 280.

[3] This criticism is echoed by Michael Bayles. "[M]uch of applied ethics has been too abstract, rigid, and divorced from the concrete problems faced by practitioners in fields considered by applied ethics." Michael Bayles, "Moral Theory and Application," Ethical Principles and Practice, John Howie, ed., Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987, p. 1.

[4] Joseph Fletcher, Situation Ethics, Philadelphia: 1966.

[5] Moreover, Bayles argues that many of the cultural and historical values present in the situation are ignored. Bayles, p. 2.

[6] Ibid, p. 3.

[7] Clifford G. Christians, Kim B. Rotzoll and Mark Fackler, Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 1991).

[8] H. Eugene Goodwin, Groping for Ethics in Journalism, 2nd ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987).

[9] Goodwin, pp. 24-25.

[10] John C. Bennett, Christian Ethics and Social Policy, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946, p. 77.

[11] Ibid., p. 79. Other ethicists share Bennett's deductive approach and his attempt to provide a link between principles and practice. The most comprehensive development comes from Paul Ramsey. Ramsey outlines a seven-stage model that moves from principles to cases. Ramsey's point in the essay is to argue that exceptions to moral principles cannot be justified. Paul Ramsey, "The Case of the Curious Exception," Norm and Context in Christian Ethics, Gene H. Outka and Paul Ramsey, eds., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, pp. 75 and 78.

[12] Bayles, p. 14.

[13] Ibid., p. 15.

[14] These options for linking ethical principles and cases deserves a more extended treatment than can be given here. The main point is to show that a variety of defensible options exist to integrating principles and policy. These and other formulations vary along a continuum, depending on the relative weight given to general principles versus the special circumstances of the case. See H-D. Kittsteiner, "Kant and casuistry," Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe. Edmund Leites, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 210.

[15] "1985-86 Journalism Ethics Report," Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, pp. 5 and 7.

[16] Ibid., p. 7.

[17] Ibid., pp. 3, 13, and 20.

[18] In working at a newspaper for nine years, I saw how cases were used in establishing precedent and setting policy as a regular part of newsroom practice.

[19] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 253.

[20] A story on the use of anonymous sources in SPJ's "1985-86 Journalism Ethics Report," p. 23, never got beyond the basic appeal to the public's need to know, despite the role that guidelines on the use of anonymous sources could play. See David Boeyink, "Anonymous sources in News Stories: Justifying Exceptions and Limiting Abuses," Journal of Mass Media Ethics, Vol. 5., No. 4 (1990), pp. 233-246.

[21] Blaise Pascal, The Provincial Letters, London: Penguin, 1967, p. 200.

[22] In interviews at the Bloomington Herald-Times, two of

the editors noted how the use of cases to establish new precedents could be "superficial" or even undermine existing policy. Rob Schorman, interview at the Runcible Spoon, Bloomington, Ind., January 25, 1991. Bill Strother, interview at the Bloomington-Herald-Times, January 31, 1991.

[23] From the Penny Cyclopedia (1836) as quoted in Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 11.

[24] Hastings Rashdall, The Theory of Good and Evil, 2nd Ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1924, p. 458.

[25] G.A. Starr, Defoe & Casuistry. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971, p. 7.

[26] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 11.

[27] Kenneth Kirk. Conscience and Its Problems. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936.

[28] Jonsen and Toulmin, pp. 254-257.

[29] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 253.

[30] Jonsen and Toulmin, pp. 255-256.

[31] Jonsen and Toulmin, pp. 16-18. The same point is made by Michael Bayles: "As both a utilitarian and a Kantian will agree on a midlevel principle of confidentiality, disagreement is then confined to those cases in which their different weightings make a difference. Strong disagreement at the theoretical level is reduced at the level of midlevel principles to the borderline and hard cases." Bayles, p. 16.

[32] Samuel Winch, "Newspaper editors' ethical orientations on the question of rape victim identification," School of Journalism, Indiana University, unpublished paper.

[33] Sissela Bok, Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation (New York:), pp. 27-28. In her previous book, Bok even organized some of her chapters according to the underlying ethical argument. See Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), pp. 50-59 and 174-191.

[34] Even though none of the six steps demands the explicit use of moral principles, Jonsen and Toulmin clearly assume, through frequent references, that moral principles are operating implicitly. For example, see Jonsen and Toulmin, p.

259.

[35] "The purpose of a sound casuistry, that is to say, will be directed first of all not so much to the definition, interpretation and application of principles of conduct, but to the discovery of sound methods along which these principles can truly be interpreted and applied as need arises, or along which conflict of principle can be solved." Kirk, p. 111.

[36] Kirk, p. 73.

[37] "But in the actual business of dealing with particular real-life cases and situations, such rules and principles can never take us more than part of the way. The real-life appication of moral, legal, and administrative rules calls always for the exercise of human perceptiveness and discernment." Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 9.

[38] "There is a common element in the two fundamental doctrines of the common law, the doctrine of precedents and the doctrine of the supremacy of law. The same spirit is behind each. The doctrine of precedents means that causes are to be judged by principles reached inductively from the judicial experience of the past, not by deduction from rules established arbitrarily by the sovereign will. In other words, reason, not arbitrary will is to be the ultimate ground of decision." Roscoe Pound, The Spirit of the Common Law (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1921), p. 183.

[39] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 254.

[40] Ibid., p. 253.

[41] Kirk, p. 112.

[42] Ibid., p. 116.

[43] Although not a casuist, James Gustafson offers a description of moral discernment tailor-made for casuistry. Discernment includes an assessment of pertinent facts and requires a person of persistent moral dispositions who lives a moral life in the context of community. See Gustafson, "Moral Discernment in the Christian Life," Outka and Ramsey, p. 34.

[44] Kirk, p. 112. Jonsen and Toulmin echo Kirk's insistence on the need for "discernment: "[T]he more problematic the situations become, the greater is the need for such discernment." Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 9.

[45] Kirk, pp. 114-115 and 376-377. James Gustafson provides a similar list in his discussion of moral discernment. "It

involves perceptivity, discrimination, subtlety, sensitivity, clarity, rationality, and accuracy. Gustafson, p. 26. See also Donald Evans, "Love, Situations, and Rules," in Outka and Ramsey, p. 438.

[46] According to Samuel Johnson, casuistry "ought by no means to be carelessly exposed, since most will use it rather to lull than awaken their own consciences." From No. 13 (May 1, 1750), Yale Edition of The Works of Samuel Johnson, ed. W.J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven, 1969), III, 73.

[47] Although he does not describe himself as a casuist, Michael Bayles makes a similar case as a part of his method of applied ethics. Bayles classifies facts "in relation to different values, principles, and policies." Moreover, as a part of this strategy, "one examines the empirical situation in order to classify various sorts of possible outcomes in terms of their ethical relevance." Bayles, pp. 8 and 13.

[48] This is Michael Walzer's point in Spheres of Justice. Money has greater ethical claims in shaping decisions within the economic sphere than in the political sphere, where decisions are to be shaped by votes and public opinion. To extend the relevance of money into the political sphere is tyranny. See Walzer, Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality (New York, Basic Books, 1983), p. 317.

[49] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 257.

[50] This list would include, among others, the requirements that the story be important and be verified by a second source, that anonymity be the last resort, and that the story be pursued with just means and just intentions. See Boeyink, pp. 237-243.

[51] After 'Jimmy's World': Tightening up in editing New York: National News Council, 1981.

[52] Casuistic policy is thus "framed in terms of rules or maxims that are general but not universal or invariable, since they hold good with certainty only in the typical conditions of the agent and circumstances of action." Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 257.

[53] "If there is a moral practice of promise-keeping, the very notion of a justifiable "exception" to it makes no sense except as a qualification within the practice itself and a

specification or deepening of its meaning." For example, the rule to keep promises can be amended to say, "Keep promises, except when doing so saves a life." Ramsey calls this an "exempting" condition rather than an exception. Paul Ramsey, Deeds and Rules in Christian Ethics, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967, pp. 139 and 222.

[54] Ramsey, "The case of the curious exception," p. 406.

[55] Kirk, p. 124.

[56] Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 330.

[57] The formalist and the rule-utilitarian who agree on a set of basic rules might quibble over first principles; the casuist says, "What difference does it make?"

[58] Jonsen and Toulmin, pp. 16-19.

[59] Jonsen and Toulmin even argue that casuistry does not offer a doctrine of virtue. Jonsen and Toulmin, p. 242.

[60] Kirk, p. 72.

[61] For example, see Kirk, pp. 72-73.

[62] In fact, they believe such a focus not only risks dogmatism and tyranny, but that the theory itself will vary, depending on the topic. Jonsen and Toulmin, pp. 296-299.

[63] Ibid., p. 297-299.

[64] Ibid., pp. 1-18.

[65] This movement to the level of ultimate principles and the justification of principles is a natural response to disagreement at this more practical level, according to Henry David Aiken. See "The Levels of Moral Discourse," Ethics Vol. 62, No. 4 (July 1952), pp. 235-248.

[66] Kirk, pp. 110-111.

[67] Strother interview.

[68] Bob Zaltsberg, interview at the Bloomington-Herald-Times, January 31, 1991. In addition to the in-house cases, Zaltsberg also cited staff responses to an ethics audit he distributed as a justification for creating a code. "There were some people who didn't see anything wrong with taking gifts and a variety of things that I thought should be fairly

standard." Ethical principles almost certainly stand behind Zaltsberg's positions (otherwise he is unlikely to be troubled by the examples). But his way of expressing his concern is through the cases themselves, not by an appeal to principles.

[69] Julie Creek, telephone interview, January, 1991.

[70] Strother interview.

[71] Creek interview.

[72] Strother interview.

[73] The last two justifications came from Elizabeth Winkler, Lifestyles editor and former Arts & Entertainment editor, interview at the Bloomington-Herald-Times, February 5, 1991.

[74] "If you refuse a cup of coffee which your mother taught you was rude, do you be rude in order to be ethical? What do you do when a bouquet of flowers arrives at the front door? They're already paid for. They're here. Is anybody really going to take time on the staff to cart them off to a nursing home or do good somewhere else? Are we going to pay somebody to take care of all the stuff that fall in our door free to get it to worthy causes? Or do we really have time to mess with that?" Janice Rickert. interview at the Bloomington-Herald-Times, January 29, 1991.

[75] Strother interview and Zaltsberg interview.

[76] Steve Higgs, interview at the Bloomington-Herald-Times, January 24, 1991.

[77] Creek interview.

[78] Strother interview.

[79] Schorman interview.

[80] Rickert interview.

[81] Bob Zaltsberg, "Story about battered husband not one that can be verified," Bloomington Herald-Times, December 3, 1990, p. A6.

[82] Zaltsberg interview.

[83] Winkler interview.

[84] Mike Leonard, "A college education, a union card offer no guarantees," Bloomington Herald-Times, January 25, 1991, p.

C1.

[85] At times Zaltsberg talks about standards beyond "compelling reason." Part of the standard of "compelling reason" is a concern for the harm that might come to people named in stories. See Zaltsberg, "Story." p. A6. For example, he argued that the use of anonymous sources can only be used when the story can't be told another way. Zaltsberg interview. But this standard of using anonymity as a last resort is clearly not part of the decision in either of the two cases. One is left with a claim for "compelling interest," a standard which alone doesn't address the problems raised by the case of the abused husband.

[86] Zaltsberg did not put the Denny story in the context of other cases. Not even the Leonard story which used an anonymous source was raised by Zaltsberg or, when discussed, seen in the same light. Denny referred to other cases, but more to justify his use of anonymity: None of his other stories had raised any questions, even though they were similar. Zaltsberg and Denny interviews.

[87] "We will find a different technique to tell this kind of story in the future." Zaltsberg, "Story," p. A6.

[88] Schorman interview.

[89] With some questions, particularly in the interview with Winkler, this was clearly the first time they had articulated for themselves a normative justification of policy.

[90] Schorman is critical of the Herald-Times' standard of "compelling reason" because a lower threshold for the use of anonymous sources is used when there is no clear harm. Schorman sees serious problems with accountability and fairness in any use of anonymous sources. To minimize their use, he wants to require that alternative ways be sought out to tell the story (last resort). Schorman interview.

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Abstract

CASUISTRY: A MORAL PARADIGM FOR JOURNALISTS

Linking abstract principles and concrete cases is not always an easy task. Beginning deductively with ethical theory requires an a priori choice of ethical principles which, when applied, may not take account of the complexity of real problems. But beginning with cases can result in a situationalism in which the normative role of ethical principles is slighted.

Casuistry, a case-centered methodology, offers one way to bridge this gap. Casuistry's "bottom-up" strategy develops policy guidelines out of case analysis, building a middle ground between practice and principle. This paper identifies the key features of casuistry and its link to ethical theory. The development of a code of ethics and the use of anonymous sources at a daily newspaper test casuistry's relevance for journalism ethics.

David E. Boeyink
School of Journalism
Indiana University
Ernie Pyle Hall
Bloomington, IN 47405
(812) 855-9821

Qualitative Studies Division
AEJMC Convention
Boston, Massachusetts
August 7, 1991

This research was supported by a grant from the Poynter Center for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Exposure Effects and Affective Responses to Music

James E. Brentar, M.A.*
Cleveland State University
364 E. 270 Street
Euclid, Ohio 44132
(216) 261-3552

Kimberly A. Neuendorf, Ph.D.
Department of Communication
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
(216) 687-3994

Paper presented to the Communication Theory and
Methodology Division of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Boston, MA
August, 1991

*As of fall semester, 1991, Mr. Brentar will be a doctoral student in the Department of Communication Arts, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Exposure Effects and Affective Responses to Music

Abstract

Radio programming appears to follow a theory of "mere exposure," where repeated exposure of a stimulus causes enhanced positive affect toward that stimulus. However, the mere exposure hypothesis may not adequately describe the relationship between exposure frequency of a song and attitude toward that song. Studies of exposure and music suggest that an inverted U relationship better describes the exposure-affect relationship. This study tested this relationship by manipulating exposure of rock and popular songs; and an inverted U relationship was found between exposure and affect.

Exposure Effects and Affective Responses to Music

Radio stations claim to play the songs that people want to hear. They say they use "popularity" as a criterion for airplay. However, it is obvious that radio airplay precedes popularity of a song, and that radio acts to popularize the songs it plays (Rothenbuhler, 1987). Early studies of radio plugging of songs have shown that radio airplay can affect students' opinions of songs (Wiebe, 1940) and sales of sheet music (Erdelyi, 1940). In fact, measures of a song's popularity, such as Billboard's hot 100 hit list, are made up partially from measures of radio play as well as record sales (Hesbacher, Downing, & Berger, 1975).

Rock and Top-40 and other popular music radio stations generally operate with a rotation system and "tight playlists" (Lull, 1987b). That is, they repeatedly play a limited number of songs over and over again in a rotation. One book on the job of the radio programmer argues that, "One of the basic concepts of radio programming is repetition" (Paiva, 1983, p. 90). In pop music radio, "The common belief is that people only want to hear their very favorite songs. . . over and over again until they 'burn out' on them" (Lull, 1987b, p. 15). Thus, a very small proportion of the music recorded is selected for massive amounts of broadcast exposure (Rothenbuhler, 1987).

The "mere exposure" hypothesis

Such a programming system that uses massive amounts of exposure to gain popularity seems to follow a theory of mere exposure. The mere exposure hypothesis states that repeated exposure of the individual to a stimulus is a sufficient condition for enhancement of positive affect toward it (Zajonc, 1968). Or, more simply put, the more you see it (or hear it), the more you will like it. By "mere" exposure is meant, "a condition which just makes the given stimulus accessible to the individual's perception" (Zajonc, 1968, p. 1). Although affect can refer to a whole wide range of emotions, feelings, moods, and physiological reactions (Sypher, Donohew & Higgins, 1988), Zajonc (1968; 1980) confines himself to those aspects of affect involved in preference, and ignores emotional responses such as surprise, anger or guilt. This paper will take Zajonc's approach and focus on the like-dislike aspects of affect rather than the entire range of concepts which fall under the category of affect.

Zajonc suggests that the relationship between exposure frequency and liking is monotonic, and the function best describing the relationship, "takes the form of a positive decelerating curve, with attitude enhancement a function of the logarithm of the exposure frequency" (Harrison, 1977, p. 40; see also Zajonc, 1968). The hypothesis doesn't preclude other bases for liking--liking can occur without repetition, and liking from repetition can be offset by other factors (Harrison, 1977).

Mere exposure and radio programming

Does the mere exposure hypothesis really explain radio programming and the liking of songs?

Both Lull (1987b) and Rothenbuhler (1987) state that after a point, airplay will lead to decreased affect toward a song, and that there will be a "burnout factor." Many radio program directors expressed concern over this burnout factor with the release of Bruce Springsteen's five-record live album in 1986 (Freeman, 1986). So much of the album was receiving extensive airplay, that program directors were worried that the overexposure would turn off many listeners. Radio programmers know "burnout" does happen and most commercial radio stations do research to help determine when songs are burning out so that they can pull them from airplay (Hiber, 1987; Sowd, 1989).

Jakobovits (1966) studied this pattern and found that the behavior of a song on hit parade follows pattern of an inverted U, where radio exposure creates a great amount of popularity up to a point, then causes a decline in popularity. He found evidence that greater exposure a song received, eventually the faster was its rate of decline in popularity.

Zajonc, Crandall, Kail and Swap (1974) argue that there is no such thing as "over-exposure." They argue that any decrease in affection is not a necessary and intrinsic consequence of repeated exposure, but occurs due to associated conditions (e.g., boredom with the experimental procedures).

As noted earlier, a small number of top hit songs are played with great repetition on the radio. If the mere exposure hypothesis works only within certain limits, then radio stations could be repeatedly playing songs that many audience members are disliking more and more with each play. Because of the small number of recordings that will receive massive exposure, radio decision makers often select songs that most reflect what the audience is already familiar with, rather than anything that sounds new or different (Lull, 1987b). This conservatism of rock and pop music programming has been heavily criticized for not reflecting audiences' interests and for strangling creativity in the music industry ("Davis raps radio," 1986).

In reviewing the effect of changes in the market structure of the music industry on popular music, Peterson and Berger (1975) found evidence that with homogeneity of product, there was unsated demand in the marketplace, and many consumers withdrew from the pop music market. Assertions that consumers "get what they want" or "want what they get" from radio were not supported.

Commercial radio stations in the United States are required by their licensing agreement to serve in the public interest, convenience and necessity (Communications Act of 1934). For entertainment programming, the FCC has generally ruled to allow marketplace demands to determine what the public interest is (Glasser, 1984). Since the demise of radio networks, radio is presumed to be a local medium; but the programming philosophy of rock and top-40 radio seems to serve national interests rather than local (Rothenbuhler, 1985). Duplication of formats within a market creates less diversity and thus lowers the ability of radio to entirely serve the public interest as mandated in the Communications Act of 1934 (Glasser, 1984).

Thus, there are two main implications of a mere exposure based programming strategy: Use of such a strategy may contribute toward radio not adequately serving the public interest; and rock and top-40 radio stations using such a programming philosophy may not be as successful as they could be because overexposure of songs and homogeneity of music played may be causing potential listeners to tune out.

Mere exposure research

Zajonc's (1968) monograph has spurred a vast amount of research on the relationship between exposure and liking or affect. Few researchers disagree that exposure can lead to liking--what is disputed is the generality of the hypothesis (Harrison, 1977).

Zajonc (1968) experimentally manipulated frequency of exposure to stimuli, and found support for his hypothesis. Since then, the mere exposure hypothesis has received much empirical support[1] (Bornstein, 1989; Bornstein, Leone & Galley, 1987; Brickman, Redfield, Harrison & Crandall, 1972; Fink, Monahan & Kaplowitz, 1989; Gordon & Holyoak, 1983; Harrison, 1977; Harrison & Zajonc, 1970; Janisse, 1970; Zajonc, Swap, Harrison & Roberts, 1971).

While most mere exposure research has used nonsense words or Chinese characters as stimuli, it has also found support using other stimuli, including photographs of faces (Bornstein, Leone, & Galley, 1987; Zajonc, 1968), abstract paintings (Brickman, et al., 1972), and music (Bartlett, 1973; Brickman & D'Amato, 1975; Heingartner & Hall, 1974; Obermiller, 1985). The mere exposure hypothesis has found support when tested in a field setting as well as in a laboratory setting (Crandall, 1972; Rajecki & Wolfson, 1973; Zajonc & Rajecki, 1969).

Theoretically accounting for mere exposure

Harrison (1977) lists five major theoretical explanations that account for the mere exposure effect: Response competition, expectancy arousal, two-factor theories, semantic satiation/semantic generation, and arousal interpretations.

The response competition theory states that a novel stimulus will elicit several responses, some of which will be incompatible or antagonistic; thus producing an aversive state with negative affect. Repeated exposure to the stimulus will strengthen some of these responses while weakening others, resulting in increased affect toward the stimulus. This theory was first introduced by Berlyne (1954) and has some evidence to support it (Harrison, 1968; 1977; Matlin, 1970; Saegert & Jellison, 1970).

The other theoretical explanations that Harrison (1977) lists--expectancy arousal, two-factor theories, semantic satiation/semantic generation, and arousal interpretations--go beyond the mere exposure hypothesis to predict an inverted U shaped relationship between exposure and affect rather than the monotonic increasing function proposed by Zajonc (1968)[2]. Only response competition accounts for the mere exposure hypothesis as specified by Zajonc (1968; 1980). Therefore, we see these as alternative, or competing, theories to mere exposure; not just theoretical mechanisms that comprise mere exposure.

The methodology of exposure studies

Zajonc's (1968) experimental design has served as a model for many subsequent studies (Harrison, 1977). It is a post-test only design so that subjects do not anticipate the rating task during the exposure phase. The exposure phase consists of exposing stimuli (usually visually, and usually only for a few seconds) to subjects at different frequencies of exposure. As noted above, the stimuli used most frequently are nonsense words and Chinese characters; but other different types of stimuli can and have been used. The stimuli used are counterbalanced against several frequencies of exposure (usually

0, 1, 2, 5, 10, and 25) so that each stimulus appears at least once in each exposure frequency, and each subject is exposed to the same number of stimuli in each exposure level. This design eliminates any stimulus by exposure confounds.

During the rating phase, subjects are shown (or otherwise exposed to) each stimulus once again and are asked to rate it. Affect is generally measured by a self-report semantic differential measure, usually a seven point Good-Bad scale.

Some studies have used interspersed ratings, where subjects are required to rate the stimuli at various times throughout the exposure phase. Harrison & Crandall (1972) provide evidence that interspersed ratings along with a homogeneous presentation sequence attenuates the mere exposure effect. These findings have been cited as evidence against using interspersed ratings, but Harrison and Crandall do not report a condition pairing interspersed ratings with heterogeneous exposure sequence; and also, they do not give any sound theoretical reason why interspersed ratings should not be used. Crandall, Montgomery and Rees (1973) suggest that when ratings are not interspersed, subjects may not be paying attention to each exposure of each stimulus.

Alternative models to mere exposure

Berlyne (1970) proposes that hedonic value of a stimulus increases with novelty and decreases with familiarity. His definition of hedonic value includes reward value as well as an affective component, but his measure of hedonic value, a 7-point semantic differential scale, has been the measure generally used for affect in studies of mere exposure. In a series of experiments, he found support for his hypotheses. However, the positive relationship between novelty and liking was supported mainly for simple stimuli presented in homogeneous sequences.

Comparing these results with those of Zajonc (1968), Berlyne (1970) hypothesized that complexity of stimulus influences these effects. He found that with a complex stimulus, hedonic value increases with repetition (up to a point), and with a simple stimulus, hedonic value increases with novelty and decreases with repetition. He discussed these findings in terms of the Wundt curve[3], an inverted U shaped curve that explicates the relationship between the arousal potential of a stimulus and its hedonic value (see Berlyne, 1970, p. 284). Berlyne (1970; 1971) uses the Wundt curve to explain how novelty and complexity of a stimulus combine to affect hedonic value. He argues that a complex novel stimulus will have a high degree of arousal potential and will result initially in low hedonic value. With repetition, the stimulus loses novelty, arousal potential decreases to a moderate level and the hedonic value will increase up to a point. When arousal potential becomes low enough, a boredom or tedium factor sets in and hedonic value will decrease with further repetition.

Jakobovits (1966) also proposed an inverted U relationship between exposure and popularity or liking of a song from a theory of semantic generation and semantic satiation (see Jakobovits & Lambert, 1963). Their hypothesis is that "repeated exposure to an unfamiliar stimulus will result in its increase in meaningfulness up to a point where further exposure no longer adds meaningfulness. At this 'critical point' the curve changes inflection with further exposure, and meaningfulness decreases (Jakobovits, 1966, p. 443). Meaningfulness and affect may not be equivalent, but in studies of semantic satiation, a 7-point semantic differential scale, the same as has been used to measure affect in mere exposure studies, has been used.

Zajonc, Crandall, Kail and Swap (1974) argue that the inverted U function has been a more robust finding when it has been applied to stimulus complexity or stimulus uncertainty than when applied to exposure. However, Crandall, Montgomery and Rees (1973) found support for an inverted U relationship between exposure and liking. Zajonc, Shaver, Tavris and VanKreveld (1972) got an inverted U finding when they used abstract paintings as stimuli. They were unable to explain why an inverted U was found for these stimuli, but not for other types of stimuli.

The findings of Jakobovits (1966) and others, and observations of radio programming strategies, have led Rothenbuhler to sum up the relationship between radio exposure and song popularity as being, "Increasing exposure, up to a point, leads to increasing popularity or affect, at which point further increasing exposure leads to decreasing popularity or affect" (Rothenbuhler, 1987, p. 79).

Exposure and other variables

Although the mere exposure hypothesis has much evidence to support it, studies manipulating exposure within identical ranges have sometimes produced inconsistent results. Harrison (1977) lists several variables other than exposure that can account for these inconsistencies. He lists three types of "other" variables: stimulus variables, presentation variables, and measurement variables[4].

For some of these "other" variables, experimental evidence suggests that they do not limit the mere exposure hypothesis. The mere exposure hypothesis does not depend upon initially neutral or favorable stimuli; and it does not depend on the exposure occurring in a positive context (Hamm, Baum & Nikels, 1975; Zajonc, Markus & Wilson, 1974; Saegert, Swap, & Zajonc, 1973).

Some of these "other" variables have to do with the experimental procedures used. Manipulating the exposure of an already familiar stimulus is unlikely to enhance affect (Harrison, 1977). Exposing a stimulus within a heterogeneous sequence in which other stimuli are interspersed is more likely to result in an exposure effect than is presenting a stimulus within a homogeneous or uninterrupted sequence in which the stimulus is repetitively presented without other stimuli (Harrison, 1977; Harrison & Crandall, 1972).

According to Berlyne (1970; 1971; see also Harrison, 1977, p. 71), there are several collative properties of stimuli, such as novelty, surprisingness, incongruity, ambiguity, and complexity, that affect arousal potential of a stimulus, and thus the affective responses to it. Of these properties, complexity and novelty appear to be the two variables that Berlyne's own work (1970; 1971; Berlyne & Parham, 1968) most often focuses on.

Complexity has been found to have a large impact upon exposure effects. Reducing stimulus complexity "lowers the likelihood of an exposure effect or causes the inflection point in an inverted U curve to occur after relatively few exposures" (Harrison, 1977, p. 54). Studies have shown the shape of the relationship between exposure and liking to be changed by systematically varying stimulus complexity (Fryrear & Cottrell, cited in Harrison, 1977; Heyduk, 1975; Smith & Dorfman, 1975; Saegert & Jellison, 1970). Highly complex stimuli have produced increased liking with exposure, highly simple stimuli have produced decreased liking with exposure, and moderate complexity has produced an inverted U shaped relationship.

Complexity has been defined in different ways. Berlyne (1971) defines complexity this way: "A pattern is considered more complex, the larger the number of independently selected elements it contains. In two patterns that consist of the same number of elements, that one will be less complex that has a greater degree of similarity among its elements or, more generally, a greater degree of redundancy of interdependence" (p. 149).

Other definitions of complexity (Watt & Welch, 1983; Leeuwenberg, 1973; Cerullo, 1988) define complexity as amount of information or entropy. But Leeuwenberg (1973) also notes there are factors other than information content that may be even more important in determining complexity. Since an apparently highly complex pattern can be generated from very simple rules, how the regularities in the pattern are interconnected and the amount of energy required to discover the rules used are also important.

Berlyne (1971) has identified some of the dimensions of complexity for visual stimuli[5], but these dimensions seem difficult to apply to music. Objective measures of complexity that have been previously used on music seem either too difficult and time consuming for a study of this type (Watt & Welch, 1983; Cerullo, 1988) or inappropriate for rock and pop music (Lomax, 1968).[6]

Novelty is a more difficult concept to understand as a collative variable. One could assume that novelty is directly negatively related to the number of exposures one has received of a stimulus. Bohme (1980) defines novelty as, "Something that is new or unusual, and to which a subject has not previously been exposed" (p. 12). However, as

Zajonc notes, "The novel stimulus cannot fail being similar to an entire host of other stimuli that the individual had encountered in the past, and to which he had attached specific responses" (p. 22). Berlyne (1971) notes that only a stimulus that is unlike anything that an individual has ever experienced before (such as someone cured of blindness first receiving visual stimulation) can possess absolute novelty. Otherwise, stimuli can only have relative novelty.

Berlyne and Parham (1968) conducted a pair of experiments to explore what determines subjective ratings of novelty. Eight components were found to influence subjective ratings of novelty, including the number of attributes distinguishing it from other stimuli that have preceded it in the recent past[7]. Berlyne (1971) used this component and others to experimentally manipulate novelty.

Harrison (1977) concludes that the "other variables" that have been suggested to limit or qualify the mere exposure hypothesis either do not conflict with the mere exposure hypothesis, or have not been consistently supported by the data.

Studies of music

There remains little doubt that music is a form of communication (Berlyne, 1971; Dunaway, 1987; Frith, 1981; Grossberg, 1987; Lewis, 1987; Lull, 1987c; Meyer, 1956), but it has not often been studied as such, and it (especially popular music) is often ignored by mass communication researchers (Christenson, DeBenedittis & Lindlof, 1985; Frith, 1987; Roe, 1987; Wallis & Malm, 1987). Mass communication research on popular music has often focused on the content of song lyrics (Bridges & Denisoff, 1986; Carey, 1969; Cole, 1971; Fedler, Hall & Tanzi, 1982; Horton, 1957; Santiago, 1969; Prinsky & Rosenbaum, 1987; Robinson & Hirsch, 1969; Desmond, 1987) and uses and gratifications associated with music (Christenson et al., 1985; Larson & Kubey, 1983; Lull, 1985; 1987a).

Although studies of music have found a plethora of variables that influence affective response to music, we are interested here only in those "other" variables mentioned by Berlyne (1971) and Harrison (1977). Also, studies have shown that how "involved" one is with music influences their responses to music (Lull, 1987a; Mizerski et al., 1988; Voelker, 1989).

Musical involvement

Various scales have been constructed to measure involvement in music. Dixon (1980) developed a scale with two factors: an "active" involvement factor which includes attending concerts, listening to records and buying records, and a "passive" factor which includes listening to the radio. These measures correlated with differences in preferences for different musical genres. Voelker (1989) developed a scale for "music sophistication" with two factors: a "participation" factor which includes playing a musical instrument and attending concerts, and an "involvement" factor which includes listening to music, discussing music with others, and watching music videos. Subjects scoring higher on the involvement factor reported more thoughts on unfamiliar music then did low involvement subjects.

Mizerski, Pucely, Perrewe, and Baldwin (1988) used Dixon's "active" and "passive" measures of involvement and added an experiential involvement scale based upon earlier work by Swanson (1978) and Hirschman (1983). These experiential measures were 7-point Likert-type responses to statements like "I felt carried off by the song," and "I felt as if I were a part of the song" (Mizerski et al., 1988, p. 83). They studied the relationship between music involvement and intent to purchase records. Of the three kinds of involvement--active, passive and experiential--only experiential involvement was related to intent to purchase records.

What is an affective response to music?

Defining affect can be a very difficult task. There are numerous definitions available: "By affect, we mean the whole wide range of emotions, remembered feelings, moods, and physiological reactions that the concept embraces" (Sypher, Donohew & Higgins, 1988, p. 3). Other definitions of affect (e.g., Osborne, 1981; Grossberg, 1987; Meyer, 1956; Bohme, 1980) reflect this diverse nature of affect. But as noted earlier, Zajonc's (1968; 1980) hypothesis generally refers only to those aspects of affect generally involved in preference; and this paper will follow Zajonc's definition of affect.

Of course, other measures of affect are possible. According to Osgood (1962), all three of the main factors of semantic meaning--evaluation, potency and activity--have an affective character as well as a response-like character. Other instruments developed to measure affective responses to music (Hevner, 1936; Wedin, 1972; Asmus, 1985) contain measures of the preference aspects of affect as well as a wider range of concepts that affect can entail.

Mere exposure and music

There have been some early studies of exposure on affect toward music (Downey & Knapp, 1927; Gilliland & Moore, 1924; 1927; Krugman, 1943; Mull, 1957; Verveer, Barry & Bousfield, 1933; Wiebe, 1940), but they have been criticized as the product of antiquated or poor methods (Heingartner & Hall, 1974; Zajonc, 1968). The methodological failings of these studies include: lack of control groups, using music which was already familiar to subjects, having subjects respond orally in a group setting allowing subjects to influence each other's responses, not controlling for the effect of song order, informing subjects of the purpose and hypotheses of the experiment prior to participation, and admitting a bias of trying to prove aesthetic superiority of one type of music over another.

The results of these early studies are mixed. Lundin (1967) examined these early studies of repetition and liking for music and came to five conclusions:

> 1. Classical and modern serious music tends to gain more in pleasant affective value than do popular works.
> 2. Popular music tends to reach the maximum of pleasantness at an early repetition, whereas classical selections reach their affective height with later performances.
> 3. With repetition, compositions considered by experts to be of greatest musical aesthetic value show the greatest gain in affective reaction with repetition.
> 4. Popular music reaches a rapid peak in affective value followed by a rapid decline in pleasantness with continued repetition.
> 5. Modern serious music seems to gain less in affective value with repetition than does the more traditional classical work. (p. 176)

However, the criticisms of these studies noted above make one question some of Lundin's conclusions. In fact, one can see a bias in music preference (for traditional classical music) in Lundin's conclusions.

More recent studies of exposure and music represent an improvement in methodology; but they do not solve all of the methodological difficulties, and they still leave some questions unanswered. Getz (1966) played to seventh grade students five selections of initially unfamiliar classical music once a week for 11 weeks. He found an inverted U result with the highest ratings occurring between weeks 6 and 8. Brickman et al. (1972) used B-sides[8] of ten-year-old rock singles as stimuli and exposed them at frequencies of 0, 1, 2, 5, and 10. They found a decrease, or slight increase then decrease, in affect with exposure. However, many of the subjects reported that their dislike for "the antiquated rock and roll" (Brickman et al., 1972, p. 35) used as stimuli influenced their ratings.

Bradley (1971) in a pretest-posttest design, played to 14 classes of seventh grade students four types of "contemporary art music" for 28 exposure periods over 14 weeks. Bradley found that all four types were liked significantly better on the posttest. Bartlett (1973) used two different types of music as stimuli: classical music and the type of music best liked by the subject. Subjects heard each song 17 times over three weeks. Support was found for mere exposure for the classical music selections, but not for the best liked selections.

Heingartner and Hall (1974) used 30-second excerpts of Pakistani folk music as stimuli. With exposure frequencies of 1, 2, 6 and 8, they found support for mere exposure in both a sample of college students, and a sample of elementary school children. Brickman and D'Amato (1975) used 30-second samples of Japanese court music as stimuli in their study of exposure in a free-choice situation. They found limited support for mere exposure in a free-choice situation. Heyduk (1975) found that changes in affective rating with repeated exposure depended upon complexity of the composition and the subject's preferred complexity level--compositions more complex than the preferred level produced an inverted U or an increasing monotonic function between liking and exposure, while compositions at the preferred level or less complex produced a decreasing monotonic function.

Bohme (1980) used as stimuli 16 single line melodies, each less than 15 seconds in length, played on a piano. She found a slight but not significant exposure effect; however, her measure of preference, time spent listening to each stimulus, confounded her manipulation of exposure. In two experiments, Hargreaves (1984) found support for an inverted U shaped relation ship between repetition and affect. Obermiller (1985) used as stimuli tape recorded sequences of tones, 16-20 notes and approximately six seconds in length, and found a significant exposure effect.

Hargreaves' (1986) review of studies of exposure and liking includes most of these more recent studies. While he finds support for mere exposure in these studies, he also finds more support for an inverted U relationship between exposure and liking.

Limitations of experimental studies

In most studies, the stimuli used in such studies are generally much simpler and bear little resemblance to stimuli we encounter in real life. One researcher who recognized this commented that such stimuli would, "probably lose their pleasingness to satiation much more rapidly than the many more intricate patterns that figure in everyday decoration and art" (Berlyne, 1971, p. 219). Music as stimulus type amplifies this problem. Using artificial series of tones where single elements can be manipulated has the disadvantage that it could be perceived as artificial, trivial and far removed from the music one encounters in real life (Hargreaves, 1986).

Heingartner and Hall (1974) argue that because of this temporal dimension, using more than eight exposures of music in an exposure study is too difficult, requiring too much of subjects' time.

The more recent studies of exposure and music reveal some further limitations that may be overcome through a well thought out design. First of all, virtually none of these studies use as stimuli rock or popular music that one might realistically hear on the radio (Hargreaves, 1984; and Bartlett, 1973 are possible exceptions). This presents a potential problem of generalizability--can one generalize from extremely novel types of music such as Pakastani folk music or Japanese court music to modern popular music? Second, these studies generally use a small maximum number of repetitions of each song. Only one study (Bradley, 1971) used a maximum exposure frequency greater than 20. The small number exposures does not accurately reflect the number of times a person may hear a song on the radio.

Third, none of these studies used songs in their entirety as stimuli--all those not using specially constructed melodies or series of tones used edited excerpts from songs or pieces of music. There are several problems with this procedure. A person is more likely to hear a song in its entirety (or a large segment thereof) than to hear only a short segment of it in naturalistic listening situations. Given Lull's (1987b) assertion of the importance to popular music of repetition of themes, riffs, and hooks within the music itself, edited segments of songs may not reflect the actual amount of repetition that occurs with repeat exposure of popular music. Also, Voelker (1989), in a pilot study, found a significant interaction between segment length of music stimulus and song familiarity in number of thoughts about the song reported. For unfamiliar music the whole song as stimulus generated significantly more thoughts reported than a 60-second or 30-second segment did.

Hypotheses

Research on the relationship between exposure frequency and affect or liking has tended to support either of two theoretical viewpoints. The first viewpoint, the mere exposure hypothesis, is largely based on the work of Zajonc (1968). The theoretical explanation that seems to account best for it, without proposing an inverted U relationship, is response competition.

The second viewpoint predicts an inverted U relationship between exposure and affect. This work is based mainly, but not solely, on the work of Berlyne (1971; see also Harrison, 1977). Although this viewpoint does not have quite as large a quantity of empirical research supporting it as mere exposure does, there are an impressive number of studies that provide empirical support for an inverted U relationship (including Berlyne, 1970; Berlyne & Parham, 1968; Brickman, et al., 1972; Crandall, Montgomery & Rees, 1973; Getz, 1966; Hargreaves, 1984; Heyduk, 1975; Jakobovits, 1966; Saegert & Jellison, 1970; Smith & Dorfman, 1975; Zajonc, Shaver, Tavris & VanKreveld, 1972). The theoretical explanation that seems to best account for this viewpoint is the arousal formulations of Berlyne (1971), although there are other theoretical explanations which also predict an inverted U relationship (See note XX).

When one considers only the studies that use music as stimuli, the support for an inverted U relationship seems greater. Of the possible theoretical explanations to account for mere exposure that Harrison (1977) lists, four predict an inverted U relationship between exposure and affect. Thus, Berlyne's theory, involving physiological arousal as the basis of affect, can account for the findings of studies supporting mere exposure. However, the mere exposure hypothesis as stated by Zajonc (1968) cannot account for the studies which find an inverted U relationship. This evidence, combined with non-empirical observation of the popular music and radio industries (Freeman, 1986; Lull, 1987b; Rothenbuhler, 1987; Sowd, 1989) suggests that the inverted U models proposed by Berlyne and Jakobovits should best explain the relationship between exposure to a song and affect toward the song.

Thus, our first hypothesis will be very similar to the above quote from Rothenbuhler (1987):

H_1: Increasing exposure to a song, up to a point, will lead to increasing positive affect toward that song, at which point further increasing exposure will lead to decreasing positive affect toward that song.

At what point will this downturn in the inverted U occur? Given the assumption that most of the studies examining mere exposure have not used a sufficient number of exposures of a stimulus to produce this effect, it is necessary to examine how many exposures have traditionally been used. Most of the studies of mere exposure have used 0, 1, 2, 5, 10, and 25 exposures (see Zajonc, 1968). As noted earlier, only one study that used music as stimuli has used more than 20 exposures; and most such studies using music use considerably fewer exposures. Bush and Pease (1968) found that playing a song 30 times in succession led to increased polarization of ratings, with more ratings toward the negative pole. Homogeneity of presentation may be partially responsible for this result, but it does suggest that the downturn point will be at fewer than 30 exposures but at more than the number of exposures in a typical exposure study that uses music as stimuli. Thus, our second hypothesis will be:

H_2: Although the point at which further exposure will lead to decreased affect will vary for different songs, that point for the songs in this study will be between 16 and 24 exposures.

As noted in Harrison (1977) and Berlyne (1970), the point at which further exposure will lead to decreased liking will vary according to other variables such as complexity, discriminability, and novelty. This suggests an interaction between these variables and frequency of exposure. Although several of these variables may influence this interaction, we will hypothesize about only two of these variables. So, our third hypothesis will be:

H_{3A}: Complexity will interact with exposure in producing affective responses, with high complexity and high exposure producing higher ratings of the songs than low complexity and high exposure.

H_{3B}: Subjective novelty will interact with exposure in producing affective responses, with high novelty and high exposure producing higher ratings of the songs than low novelty and high exposure.

Methods

Overall Design

An experimental design was used based upon the design used by Zajonc (1968) and used in many other exposure studies. The only difference between this design and Zajonc's is that instead of a posttest only design, ratings of songs were collected after each listening session. Subjects listened to a tape of music twice a week for two weeks[7] and filled out a self-administered questionnaire on each visit.

Four songs were experimentally manipulated. Using Zajonc (1968) as a model, the four songs were counterbalanced across four exposure frequencies: 24, 16, 8, and 1. This counter-balancing prevents a confounding of familiarity with other stimulus variables (Harrison, 1977). Table 1 illustrates this counterbalanced design.

To help maintain a heterogeneous presentation, in addition to the songs being manipulated, each tape contained additional songs not being manipulated--"filler" songs. The filler songs were selected from songs that were rated as pleasant on the pilot study, and that provided a wide range of prior familiarities and musical styles. These songs were not experimentally manipulated and were the same for each group. Of the manipulated songs, two of the songs chosen were high in subjective complexity and two were low in subjective complexity. Also, the songs chosen differed on pilot test measures of subjective novelty.

Pilot test

In order to manipulate the number of times that each subject hears each song, it is necessary to find songs that subjects have not been previously exposed to. To accomplish this, a pilot study was conducted to find and select music which was unknown to subjects[9]. In addition to being unknown to subjects, the music selected must belong to the popular music or rock music genres or a related genre. Also, the music must be perceived as being produced in recent years, and it must be perceived as music that one might realistically hear today on a commercial radio station playing rock or popular music.

From 57 songs chosen for use as stimuli, participants in the pilot study each heard a tape of nine songs and completed a self-administered questionnaire regarding them. For each song, participants were asked (in addition to other measures) whether or not they had heard the song in question prior to participation in the study, how certain they were about whether or not they had heard the song before, how many times they had heard the song before, whether they owned a copy of the song on record, tape or CD, how similar the song was to songs currently being played on the radio, how likely they thought it would be that the song would be played on a typical rock or top-40 radio station, what year they thought the song was recorded in.

Songs were eliminated from consideration for use if they were familiar to subjects, or if they failed to meet the other criteia listed above. Of the songs that met the criteria, four were chosen for use in the study.

Stimuli

The four songs were chosen from the pilot test songs that met the above criteria. They were chosen so that two of them were high in subjective complexity and two were low in subjective complexity. The four songs chosen also differed in judgments of subjective novelty. These ratings are shown in Table 2.

The stimulus tapes for the study contained sixteen songs (some repeated) and were approximately one hour in length. Position of each song on the tape was determined randomly.

To preserve a heterogeneous presentation, no song appeared twice in a row on any tape. As explained earlier, to help maintain a heterogeneous presentation, each tape contained "filler" songs, additional songs not being manipulated.

Subjects

Subjects were undergraduates enrolled in communication courses at a large midwestern university. None had participated in the pilot study. All subjects received course credit for participation, and in addition, some participants were offered the opportunity to win a gift certificate to a local music store in return for participation.

Procedures

Subjects were required to visit the Instructional Media Services (IMS) media lab on four separate occasions over two weeks. Two different two week periods were used. Subjects were required to not make visits on consecutive days. They were also required to make one of the visits on either Monday or Tuesday of each week. Subjects were randomly assigned to groups.

Subjects were required, on each visit, to visit the IMS media lab, listen to a cassette tape of music, then fill out a self-administered questionnaire. At the end of the tape, they heard a 10-20 second segment from a song and were instructed by the tape to stop the tape and fill out the portion of the questionnaire for that song. The questionnaire instructed them to listen to the tape again, and another 10-20 second song segment was heard. This procedure was repeated for each song on the tape. A few weeks after all subjects had completed the experiment, all subjects were debriefed by written letter.

Measuring Instruments

Affect was measured, as it generally has been in most studies of mere exposure, by a "Good-Bad" semantic differential scale. An 11-point scale was used instead of a 7-point scale for greater precision of measure. Two additional measures of affect were used. One was an 11-point "Pleasing-Displeasing" semantic differential scale. For the other, subjects were asked to rate each song on a scale from 0 to 100, where zero is the worst song, and 100 is the best song they had ever heard.

Subjective complexity was measured by an 11 point Simple-Complex semantic differential scale. Subjective novelty was measured by Old-New and Imitative-Innovative semantic differential scales. Other semantic differential scales were included, but no analyses were performed on them.

The music involvement measures used were based on previous research on music invovement (Dixon, 1980; Voelker, 1989). Subjects were asked how often they listened to the radio; how often they listened to records, tapes or CDs, how often they attended concerts, how often they read about music, how often they talked with others about music, how often they attended bars or night clubs where music was featured, how many records, tapes or CDs they owned, how often they watched music videos; whether or not they played a musical instrument; whether or not they played or sang in a musical group; and how long they had played or sang in a musical group. Also the experiential music involvement measures from Mizerski, et al. (1988) were included.

The measuring instrument for the first visit for each subject included the music involvement measures and all of the measures used in the pilot study. For the remaining three visits, the questionnaire included only the semantic differential questions, and the 0-100 rating of the song.

Results

A total of 54 subjects participated in the study. Of these, 30 (58.8%) were female. The average age of subjects was 23.47 years. A total of 44 subjects completed all four visits to the media lab[10]. The final ratings for the manipulated songs are shown in Figure 1 and Table 3. As shown in Figure 1, the relationship between exposure and the 0-100 rating (RATING) is in the shape of an inverted U. Also, for both the Good-Bad rating (GOOD) and the Pleasing-Displeasing rating (PLEASE), the relationship has an inverted U shape. The point at which further exposure begins to lead to decreased rather than increased exposure occurs at between 8 and 16 exposures. Hypothesis 2 predicted the downturn at between 16 and 24 exposures. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 is not supported.

Music involvement factor analysis

A principle components factor analysis using varimax rotation was conducted on the music involvement measures from the questionnaire. A factor analysis was conducted using all of the music involvement measures[11]. The results are shown in Table 4. After examination of a scree plot, a three factor solution was chosen. Factor 1 includes the items measuring listening to records (LISTEN), attending concerts (CONCERTS), buying records (PURCHASE), reading about music (MAGAZINE) and talking about music with others (TALK). This factor will be called an "active" involvement factor. Factor 2 includes watching music videos (MTV), playing or singing in a musical group, and years spent playing or singing in a musical group (GROUP, YEARSGROUP). Also, attending bars or night clubs where rock or pop music was featured loaded negatively on this factor (BARS). Since the playing or singing in a musical group had the highest loading on this factor, this factor will be called a "participative" involvement factor. Factor 3 has listening to the radio (RADIO), and reading about music in local newspapers (LOCALNEWS) loading positively, and playing a musical instrument (PLAY) and playing in a musical group loading negatively on this factor. This factor will be called a "passive" involvement factor.

Scales were constructed for each of these factors using standardized values for all 13 items, each item weighted with factor score coefficients. A simple additive scale was constructed for the experiential involvement items (see note 12).

Regression analysis

Because all of the independent and dependent variables were measured at the interval-ratio level, regression analysis was chosen as an appropriate statistic to test the hypotheses. The hypothesized relationship between exposure level and affect is non-linear: an inverted U shape. Because regression analysis assumes a linear relationship, it was necessary to transform the independent variable. Bauer and Fink (1983) posit two basic approaches to transforming data: transforming data based upon theoretical or a priori considerations; or estimating an appropriate transformation from the data being analyzed. For this study, we have a hypothesized non-linear relationship, so we will take the first approach. The inverted U relationship resembles an inverted parabola (or some variation of $y = -x^2$), therefore the independent variable, number of exposures, was centered around the exposure level with the highest ratings (eight exposures) and squared. Since exposures was the only independent variable hypothesized to have a non-linear effect, it was the only variable transformed.

The other independent variables used are the demographic variables, Race (non-white=1, white=0), Age, Gender (female=1, male=0), and College Class (Freshman=1, Sophomore=2, Junior=3, Senior=4); song order (the order in which the songs made their first appearance on the tape); subjective complexity (COMPLEX); subjective novelty (NEW, INNOVATIVE); the music involvement indices (EXPER, MI-FACTOR1, MI-FACTOR2, MI-FACTOR3); and number of exposures. Also, since this analysis includes several different observations from each subject (i.e., a repeated measures design), subject needed to be controlled for (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). This was done by creating dummy variables for each subject[12].

Hierarchical forced-entry regression analyses were conducted for all of the ratings (all four visits) for the manipulated songs, with the demographic variables, ID dummy variables, and other independent variables entered prior to exposure. The results are shown in Tables 5, 6 and 7.

For each of the three dependent measures, number of exposures adds a significant amount of variance to the equation. The final beta for exposure with the 0-100 rating as the dependent measure is not significant even though exposure adds a significant amount of variance to the equation. Although exposure remained a significant predictor even when controlling for a large number of variables, the amount of variance explained by exposure is relatively small. This analysis provides support for Hypothesis 1.

A few of the control variables are also significant predictors of affect. Subjective complexity was found to be a significant predictor for each measure of affect. The higher the subjective complexity, the higher the song was rated. The innovative-imitative measure of subjective novelty was a significant predictor for each dependent measure, but the new-old measure was significant only for Good-Bad as the dependent measure. Of the music involvement measures, two were found to be significant predictors. Experiential music involvement (MI-EXPER) was positively related to affect; and active music involvement (MI-FACTOR1) as negatively related to affect. The overall equation is significant for each measure.

Complexity and exposure

Hypothesis 3a predicts an interaction between complexity and exposure. Again, since all measures are at the interval-ratio level, regression analysis is used. As in the previous analysis the transformed exposure level is used. The same control variables as in the previous analysis are used. In multiple regression, the interaction is carried by the product of the two variables (Cohen & Cohen, 1983); therefore, an interaction measure, complexity x exposure level (COMPLEX x EXPO) is used to test the interaction effect.

According to Jaccard, Turrisi and Wan (1990) an interaction effect is tested by first partialling out the main effects of each variable, then seeing whether the interaction term adds a significant amount of variance. Therefore, hierarchical forced-entry regression analysis was again conducted, with the interaction term entered last after the control variables and the main effect variables. The results are shown in Tables 8, 9, and 10.

For each of the three dependent measures, the interaction measure does not add a significant amount of variance. For two of the dependent measures (0-100 Rating and Pleasing-Displeasing) the amount of variance explained by the interaction term approaches significance; but we can not assume that the results did not occur by chance. This analysis does not provide support for Hypothesis 3a.

Subjective novelty and exposure

Hypothesis 3b predicts an interaction between subjective novelty and exposure. Again, since all measures are at the interval-ratio level, regression analysis was used. As in the previous analyses the transformed exposure level was used. The same control variables as in the previous analyses were used. Interaction measures, new-old x exposure level (NEW x EXPO) and innovative-imitative x exposure level (INNO x EXPO) were used to test the interaction effect.

Again, hierarchical forced-entry regression analysis was conducted, with the interaction terms being entered last. The results are shown in Tables 11, 12, and 13. For each of the three dependent measures, the interaction terms do not add a significant amount of variance. The innovative-imitative interaction measure is a significant predictor for the Good-Bad dependent measure; but because the interaction terms do not explain a significant amount of variance as a block, this can not be cited as support for the hypothesis. This analysis does not provide support for Hypothesis 3b.

Discussion

Not all of the hypotheses of this study were supported; but the first hypothesis, that there exists an inverted U shaped relationship between exposure frequency and affect toward music, was supported. The amount of variance explained by exposure frequency was relatively small, but it remained a significant predictor of affect when controlling for several other variables. The second hypothesis, that the point at which further exposure will lead to decreased affect would occur between 16 and 24 exposures, was not supported. This point occurred earlier than expected, with the highest ratings after 8 exposures, and the downturn point between 8 and 16 exposures.

The third hypothesis, that subjective novelty and complexity would interact with exposure in producing affect, was not supported. Although measures of subjective novelty and complexity were significant predictors of affect, they did not interact significantly with exposure.

As noted above, research on exposure and affect seems to support one of two theoretical viewpoints: The mere exposure hypothesis, based largely on the work of Zajonc (1968), with response competition as the theoretical explanation that seems to account best for it; and the arousal interpretations, based mainly on the work of Berlyne (1971), predicting an inverted U relationship between exposure and affect. This study provides support for an inverted U relationship between exposure frequency and affective response, at least where music is concerned. To discern more accurately what kind of support this theory has received, one must return to look at the processes involved in producing affect as stated in the theories we have examined.

As mentioned earlier, response competition seems to be the most appropriate theory for explaining the processes of the mere exposure hypothesis. This theory states that a novel stimulus will elicit several responses, some of which will be incompatible or antagonistic, producing an aversive state with negative affect. Repeated exposure strengthen some of these responses while weakening others, resulting in increased affect.

The arousal interpretations of Berlyne define affect as being based upon physiological arousal, with both very low and very high arousal producing low affect while moderate levels of arousal produce more positive affect. A novel complex stimulus will initially produce high arousal and low affect; but repeated exposure will result in moderate levels of arousal, producing more positive affect. After further exposure, a point is reached where low amounts of arousal are produced and tedium with lower affect results.

Because we did not include any measures of response competition (such as response latencies, or confusion between stimuli) or any measures of physiological arousal, we can not provide empirical support for the processes involved in the exposure-affect relationship. The processes from Berlyne's theory can account for results here. Subjects could have found initial high arousal with initial exposure to the songs; and repetition may have resulted in more moderate arousal (and thus higher affect) then low arousal (and thus tedium and low affect). Although the processes described by Berlyne can account for these findings, response competition, as applied to the mere exposure hypothesis, can't account for a downturn in affect with further exposure. It is possible that one could develop a theory where response competition is related to arousal level, and moderate arousal level provides the highest level of affect; but this would mean an inverted U shaped relationship, and thus it would contradict the mere exposure hypothesis as it is stated by Zajonc (1968).

The "competition" between these two theories is not a matter of physiological versus cognitive theories. Zajonc (1980) himself views affect and cognition as separate systems where affect can occur independent of and even prior to cognition. Neither is it a matter of a linear versus non-linear relationship. Zajonc (1968) proposes a curvilinear relationship where affect is a function of the logarithm of the exposure frequency. However, there is a matter of monotonic versus non-monotonic. Zajonc describes the relationship as monotonic, that there is no such thing as overexposure. The other theoretical formulations used to explain mere exposure propose a non-monotonic relationship--an inverted U shaped relationship.

As mentioned earlier, this study does not disprove the mere exposure hypothesis; but it does provide further evidence of more complex dynamics in the relationship between exposure and affect than is stated in Zajonc's mere exposure hypothesis. For still visual stimuli, mere exposure still has a large amount of empirical support. Future research needs to examine further the limits within which the mere exposure hypothesis works.

This study also has implications for attempting to reconcile results of Berlyne's research on novelty with research on exposure. It is obvious that novelty means more than just the number of times one has been exposed to a stimulus. Although, this study did not find that subjective novelty interacted with exposure frequency in producing affect, only two measures of subjective novelty were used here, Berlyne and Parham (1968) found eight predictors of subjective complexity. Future research should use measures based upon all eight of these predictors.

We began this paper by stating that radio programming in commercial radio seems to follow a theory of mere exposure. Radio stations do tend to select a relatively small number of songs for airplay and gives them massive exposure. Also, evidence has shown that radio acts to popularize the music it plays. However, radio programming does not perfectly follow mere exposure. Programmers are aware of "burnout" and do take various steps to pull songs from the air before listeners get sick of them. The question is when. At what point do people get sick of the same songs? Is it before they get pulled from airplay?

The data here suggest that this point may be earlier than many radio programmers realize. This study hypothesized that point to occur somewhere between 16 and 24 exposures; but instead it occurred earlier--at between 8 and 16 exposures. Although this point will differ for various songs, it is clear that the amount of airplay any single song can receive is limited. As noted earlier, radio stations tend to use tight rotation systems where a small number of songs will get played very often. One book on radio programming states that a typical Top 40 station will play its top songs once every 2 hours and 45 minutes every day (Routt, 1985). A person who listens to radio for several hours each day could easily hear a song 8 to 16 times within the space of a week. One approach radio stations could use to offset the burnout factor is to simply play a slightly larger selection of songs with less repetition. The fact that many radio stations are now advertising that they have less repetition suggests that many stations are taking this approach.

Radio is just a context within which this study was conceptualized. The results of this study have implications beyond a single medium of mass communication. In advertising, it is important to know how repeated viewing of ads influences audience members feelings about the ad and about the product or service it advertises. Television researchers and professionals are interested in how audiences perceive repeat viewing of content, whether it is reruns, movies or commercials. Persuasion researchers often look at the effect of message repetition on persuasion.

Because interaction measures for complexity and novelty approched significance in some of the analyses, an increased sample size would be desirable for future studies of this type; however, while increasing sample size would likely be helpful, it would be difficult in a study like this. This study required subjects to spend four hours listening to music. This extreme requirement upon subjects' time is one reason for the small sample size (54 participated, only 44 completed all four sessions).

Statistical analysis for this type of study presented one difficulty for this study. Analysis of variance, has been the statistic most often used in exposure studies; but it assumes an independent variable measured at the nominal level of measurement. With all variables measured at the interval-ratio level, and a curvilinear hypothesized relationship, the ANOVA may be particularly inappropriate in that information on the independent variable is lost. Also, this study hypothesized a curvilinear inverted U relationship. When a non-linear relationship is hypothesized, transforming one of the variables is one method that is appropriate for analysis of the data (Bauer & Fink, 1983). Quadratic trend analysis and non-linear regression would be two other methods appropriate for testing a non-linear relationship.

All of the music used in this study came from the genres of rock music, popular music, or a related genre. But these genres represent only a portion of the different genres of music that exist. A recent pilot study[13] found 40 different musical genres that were mentioned reliably by respondents. Given the research that finds genre an important factor in music preference (Fink, Robinson & Dowden, 1985; Zillmann & Bhatia, 1989), future research needs to examine how genre influences the exposure-affect relationship. The studies of exposure and music reviewed earlier have rarely looked at more than a single genre, and none have looked at more than a couple different genres. A study that uses excerpts from several different genres of music would be very useful to examine this influence.

In this study, as in every exposure study, frequency of exposure did not affect every individual in the same way. What factors account for these differences between individuals is another question for future research. Work by Zuckerman (Litle & Zuckerman, 1986; Zuckerman, Kolin, Price & Zoob, 1964) found that individuals do differ in the degree to which they seek sensation, and that these differences can influence music preferences. Including a sensation-seeking scale in future exposure research would be one way to explore these individual differences.

This study gives support for Berlyne's (1970; 1971) theory of an inverted U relationship between exposure and affect (hedonic value); but Berlyne defines affect as being based upon physiological arousal--something not measured here. Future research should use physiological measures of arousal in addition to self-report measures of affect.

This study manipulated exposure on only four stimuli, and had a maximum exposure level of 24. Using a greater number of stimuli with a more varied set of exposure levels would be a desirable goal for future research, even though the difficulties in doing so (increased time required of subjects) would be great. Future research needs to find ways to get a sufficient number of subjects who are willing to volunteer such a large amount of time to a study. Perhaps a funded research project where subjects are compensated for the time they spend would be one way to solve this difficulty.

Notes

[1] Expectancy arousal theories suggest that inspection of a stimulus gives rise to expectancies about the stimulus which will be either confirmed or denied upon further inspection. As familiarity with the stimulus increases, stronger expectancies will be aroused by the stimulus thus creating increased affect. The main research on this theory has been conducted by James Crandall (1967; Crandall, Montgomery & Reese, 1973; see also Harrison, 1977).

The two-factor theories discussed by Harrison (1977) are a number of different explanations used to explain an inverted U relationship between exposure and liking. The two factors most often discussed are positive habituation, which causes the increase in liking with exposure, and tedium, which causes the eventual decrease in liking. While Harrison (1977) cites this as a separate theory, most of this research is part of the work of Berlyne (1971; see also Harrison, 1977). A fuller explanation of Berlyne's theory can be found below in this section and in the section "Alternative models to mere exposure."

Semantic satiation/semantic generation has to do with how the meaning of words or stimuli change with repetition. This theory is discussed below in the section "Alternative models to mere exposure" For further explanation, see Jakobovits and Lambert (1963).

The arousal interpretations discussed by Harrison (1977) are based on affect being based in physiological arousal. For the most part, Harrison discusses the work of Berlyne here (see Berlyne, 1970; 1971). This theory is discussed in the "Alternative models to mere exposure" section.

[2] Harrison (1977) provides an excellent review of the research on mere exposure. The literature review here does not attempt, solely or mainly, to paraphrase Harrison's review; however, many of the points discussed here owe a debt to Harrison (1977).

[3] The Wundt curve was first introduced by psychologist Wilhelm Wundt in 1874 to explain the relationship between the intensity of a stimulus and its perceived pleasantness (Berlyne, 1971; see also Wundt, 1904).

[4] He lists three types of "other" variables: stimulus variables (initial familiarity, initial meaning/pre-exposure valence, discriminability, recognizability, complexity), presentation variables (context, presentation sequence), and measurement variables (choice of scales, attentional measures, time of rating, and repetition of measures)

[5] The dimensions of complexity that Berlyne (1971) identifies are: irregularity of arrangement, amount of material, heterogeneity of elements, irregularity of shape, number of independent units, asymmetry, and random redistribution.

[6] An objective measure of complexity, appropriate for the type of music in this study and comparatively easy to administer, was intended to be developed for use in this study. However, problems with reliability, precision and accuracy with the measure were not corrected in time to be used in this study.

[7] The factors found to influence subjective ratings of novelty are: Whether or not a stimulus has appeared in the recent past, the number of attributes distinguishing it from other stimuli that have preceded it in the recent past, homogeneity of presentation, repeated presentation of the same stimulus, repeated presentation of another stimulus preceding the stimulus, and the number of times the individual has encountered the stimulus in the past.

[8] The rock singles referred to here are two-sided seven inch 45rpm records. One side, called the A-side or hit side contained the song that was a hit and received much radio airplay. The other side, called the B-side or flip side, generally contained a less popular song that never received radio airplay and to which hardly anyone ever listened. There have been exceptions to this rule, but in general, using B-sides of singles as stimuli is a good way to insure that hardly anyone has heard the song previously.

[9] A complete description of the procedures and results of the pilot study is presented in Brentar (1990).

[10] One of these 44 did not follow instructions properly, and their data were not included in most of the analyses that follow. Of those who completed all four visits, 23 (57.5%) were female and 5 (12.5%) were non-white. The average age of these subjects was 24.7 years.

[11] On an initial factor analysis, the experiential involvement items all loaded cleanly on a single factor, but this researcher felt that they may have contributed toward other items not loading cleanly on any factor. So, a second factor analysis was conducted with the experiential involvement items omitted. These experiential involvement items are theoretically distinct from the other involvement items, and their validity as a measure has been established elsewhere (see Mizerski et al., 1988). They all loaded cleanly on a single factor, on which no other items loaded. Since these items are all 0-100 scales with comparable means and standard deviations, and their factor loadings were all about equal, a simple additive scale was constructed from them.

[12] These variables were coded with effects coding (Cohen & Cohen, 1983) with the subject ID that wasn't a dummy variable equal to -1 for each of the other dummy variables.

[13] This was a pilot survey conducted by K. A. Neuendorf in 1989. Respondents were asked (among other things) to list as many different types of music as they could. These data have not been published, but analysis of these data for presentation or publication is in progress.

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Figure 1

Song ratings by exposure level

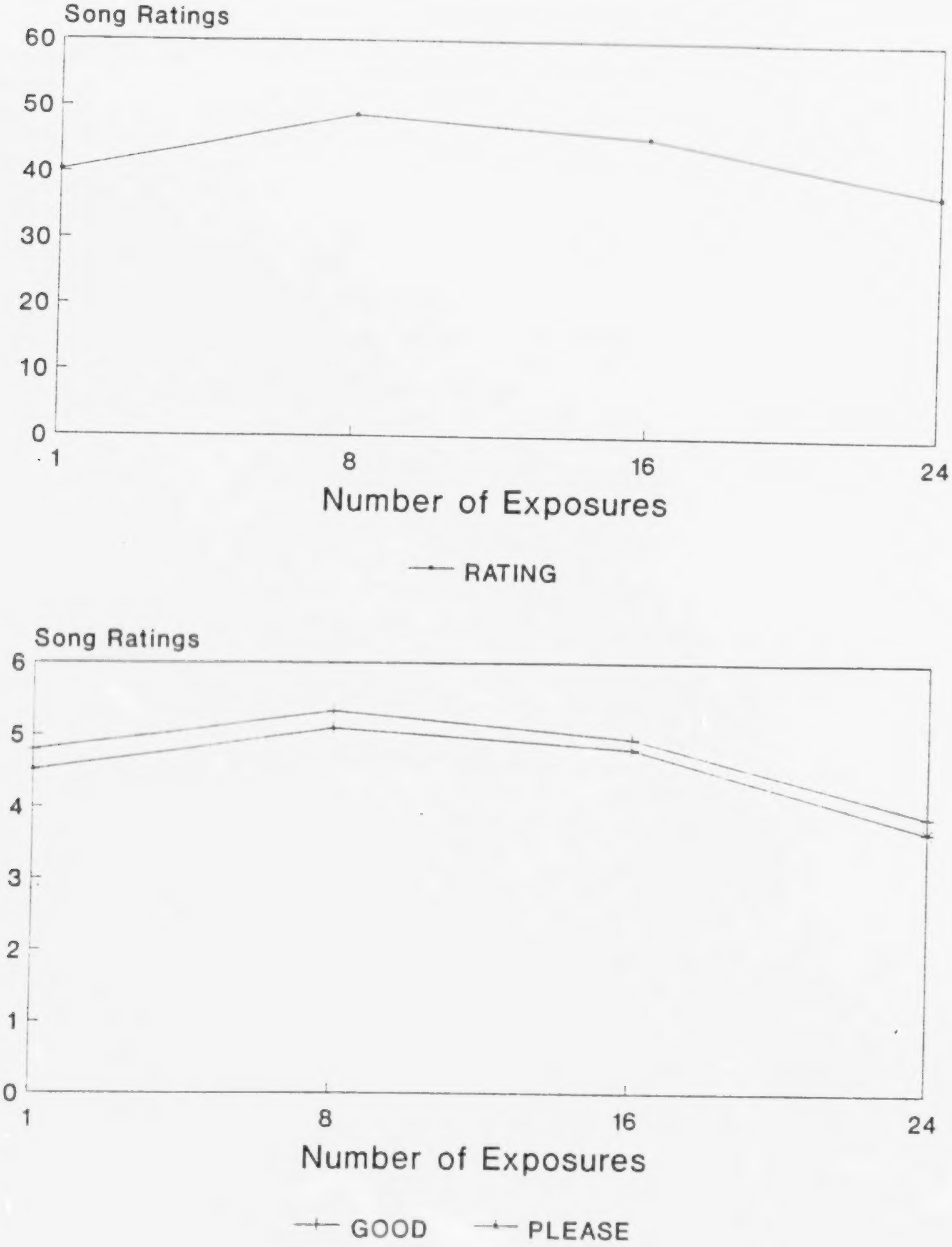

Table 1
Study Design

Number Of Exposures

	Song A	Song B	Song C	Song D
Group I	24	16	8	1
Group II	1	24	16	8
Group III	8	1	24	16
Group IV	16	8	1	24

Table 2

Pilot ratings for chosen songs

on complexity and subjective novelty

Song	Complexity Mean	Complexity SD	New-Old Mean	New-Old SD	Innovative-Imitative Mean	Innovative-Imitative SD	Similar Mean	Similar SD
Aswad-Cant Get Over You	3.58	1.93	6.33	1.77	5.08	3.03	4.83	2.98
Spider-Zero	5.50	1.93	6.50	2.24	4.67	2.06	7.17	2.21
Nobody Takes Me Seriously	5.31	2.17	5.29	2.51	4.57	2.78	4.38	2.81
BJH-Capricorn	3.95	1.69	4.57	2.56	4.52	1.94	5.09	2.00

Table 3

Final visit song ratings

Variable	Mean Expo=1	Mean Expo=8	Mean Expo=16	Mean Expo=24
0-100 Rating	40.25	48.70	45.42	37.05
Good-Bad	5.21	4.67	5.05	6.12
Pleasing-Displeasing	5.49	4.91	5.19	6.32

Table 4

Music Involvement Factor Analysis

Item	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1 Active	Factor 2 Participative	Factor 3 Passive	Communalities
Listen	.82	.34	.03	.79
Concerts	.82	.01	.08	.68
Records	.94	-.07	-.02	.89
Purchase	.78	-.03	-.30	.70
Magazine	.49	-.23	.11	.31
Talk	.89	.15	.12	.84
MTV	.27	.56	.38	.53
Bars	-.00	-.42	-.12	.19
Group	-.05	.73	-.44	.73
YearsGroup	-.05	.90	-.09	.81
Radio	-.27	.02	.52	.35
LocalNews	.29	-.08	.60	.45
Play	-.01	-.07	-.67	.45
Eigenvalues	4.16	2.05	1.52	
% Variance Explained	32.0	15.8	11.7	

Table 5

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample
Dependent Variable=0-100 Rating

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC AGE GENDER COLLEGE	.13 $.24^{**}$ $-.53^{**}$ .04	.07	9.78 (.00)	.07	.06	9.78 (.00)
ORDER	-.00	.00	.12 (.73)	.07	.06	7.83 (.00)
COMPLEX NEW INNOVATIVE	$.14^{**}$ .05 $.28^{**}$	.18	41.02 (.00)	.25	.23	21.40 (.00)
MI-EXPER MI-FACTOR1 MI-FACTOR3 MI-FACTOR2	$.48^{**}$ $-.15^{**}$ -.11 .12	.11	23.17 (.00)	.36	.35	24.41 (.00)
ID	--	.29	10.91 (.00)	.66	.62	18.39 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.06	.00	5.44 (.02)	.66	.62	18.31 (.00)

$^{**}p < .01$
$^{*}p < .05$

Table 6

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample
Dependent Variable=Good-Bad

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.25*					
AGE	.20**					
GENDER	-.57**					
COLLEGE	.20	.04	4.97 (.00)	.04	.03	4.97 (.00)
ORDER	-.04	.00	.00 (.97)	.04	.03	3.97 (.00)
COMPLEX	.16**					
NEW	.14**					
INNOVATIVE	.29**	.21	47.81 (.00)	.24	.23	21.07 (.00)
MI-EXPER	.40**					
MI-FACTOR1	-.20**					
MI-FACTOR3	.15					
MI-FACTOR2	-.09	.03	5.58 (.00)	.28	.26	16.40 (.00)
ID	--	.18	4.31 (.00)	.46	.40	8.17 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.11**	.01	10.76 (.00)	.47	.42	8.38 (.00)

**p < .01
*p < .05

Table 7

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample
Dependent Variable=Pleasing-Displeasing

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.18					
AGE	$.25^{**}$					
GENDER	$-.51^{**}$					
COLLEGE	.14	.03	3.99 (.00)	.03	.02	3.99 (.00)
ORDER	.02	.00	1.30 (.25)	.03	.02	3.46 (.00)
COMPLEX	$.21^{**}$					
NEW	.08					
INNOVATIVE	$.32^{**}$	.24	59.37 (.00)	.28	.27	25.14 (.00)
MI-EXPER	$.39^{**}$					
MI-FACTOR1	$-.13^{*}$					
MI-FACTOR3	.06					
MI-FACTOR2	.03	.03	5.41 (.00)	.31	.29	19.13 (.00)
ID	--	.15	3.55 (.00)	.46	.40	8.15 (.00)
EXPOSURE	$-.08^{*}$	.01	5.18 (.02)	.46	.41	8.16 (.00)

$^{**}p < .01$
$^{*}p < .05$

Table 8

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample With Complexity Interact Dependent Variable=0-100 Rating

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.11					
AGE	.26**					
GENDER	-.47**					
COLLEGE	-.00	.07	9.78 (.00)	.07	.06	9.78 (.00)
ORDER	.02	.00	.12 (.73)	.07	.06	7.83 (.00)
NEW	.05					
INNOVATIVE	.28**	.15	52.59 (.00)	.22	.21	21.72 (.00)
MI-EXPER	.51**					
MI-FACTOR1	-.14*					
MI-FACTOR3	-.12					
MI-FACTOR2	.12	.11	21.20 (.00)	.33	.32	23.66 (.00)
ID	--	.31	11.20 (.00)	.65	.61	17.95 (.00)
COMPLEX	.10**	.01	14.80 (.00)	.66	.62	18.39 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.11**	.00	5.44 (.02)	.66	.62	18.31 (.00)
COMPLEX x EXPOSURE	.08	.00	3.26 (.07)	.66	.63	18.10 (.00)

**$p < .01$
*$p < .05$

Table 9

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample
With Complexity Interact
Dependent Variable=Good-Bad

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.24*					
AGE	.21**					
GENDER	-.56**					
COLLEGE	.20	.04	4.97 (.00)	.04	.03	4.97 (.00)
ORDER	-.02	.00	.00 (.97)	.04	.03	3.96 (.00)
NEW	.14**					
INNOVATIVE	.29**	.18	63.54 (.00)	.22	.21	21.66 (.00)
MI-EXPER	.41**					
MI-FACTOR1	-.19**					
MI-FACTOR3	.15					
MI-FACTOR2	-.09	.03	4.96 (.00)	.25	.24	16.01 (.00)
ID	--	.19	4.45 (.00)	.45	.39	7.96 (.00)
COMPLEX	.11*	.01	10.69 (.00)	.46	.40	8.17 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.15**	.01	10.76 (.00)	.47	.42	8.39 (.00)
COMPLEX x EXPOSURE	.07	.00	1.84 (.17)	.47	.42	8.27 (.00)

** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$

Table 10

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample With Complexity Interact Dependent Variable=Pleasing-Displeasing

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.16					
AGE	.28**					
GENDER	-.44*					
COLLEGE	.09	.03	3.99 (.00)	.03	.02	3.99 (.00)
ORDER	.05	.00	1.30 (.25)	.03	.02	3.46 (.00)
NEW	.07					
INNOVATIVE	.32**	.21	74.59 (.00)	.25	.24	24.47 (.00)
MI-EXPER	.42**					
MI-FACTOR1	-.11					
MI-FACTOR3	.05					
MI-FACTOR2	.04	.02	4.45 (.00)	.27	.26	17.60 (.00)
ID	--	.16	3.68 (.00)	.43	.38	7.58 (.00)
COMPLEX	.15**	.02	20.68 (.00)	.46	.40	8.15 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.13**	.01	5.18 (.02)	.46	.41	8.16 (.00)
COMPLEX x EXPOSURE	.11	.00	3.52 (.06)	.47	.41	8.11 (.00)

**p < .01
*p < .05

Table 11

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample
With Subjective Novelty Interact
Dependent Variable=0-100 Rating

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.11					
AGE	.26**					
GENDER	-.47**					
COLLEGE	-.01	.07	9.78 (.00)	.07	.06	9.78 (.00)
ORDER	.02	.00	.12 (.73)	.07	.06	7.83 (.00)
COMPLEX	.14**	.09	61.23 (.00)	.17	.16	17.48 (.00)
MI-EXPER	.52**					
MI-FACTOR1	-.14*					
MI-FACTOR3	-.13					
MI-FACTOR2	.12	.14	27.42 (.00)	.31	.30	23.57 (.00)
ID	--	.29	9.09 (.00)	.60	.56	15.00 (.00)
NEW	.05					
INNOVATIVE	.24**	.06	40.69 (.00)	.66	.62	18.39 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.10**	.00	5.44 (.02)	.66	.62	18.31 (.00)
NEW x EXPOSURE	-.00					
INNO x EXPOSURE	.09	.00	1.91 (.15)	.66	.63	17.75 (.00)

$^{**}p < .01$
$^{*}p < .05$

Table 12

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample With Subjective Novelty Interact Dependent Variable=Good-Bad

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	$.24^{*}$					
AGE	$.22^{**}$					
GENDER	$-.55^{**}$					
COLLEGE	.20	.04	4.97 (.00)	.04	.03	4.97 (.00)
ORDER	-.02	.00	.00 (.97)	.04	.03	3.96 (.00)
COMPLEX	$.15^{**}$	.11	64.56 (.00)	.14	.13	14.46 (.00)
MI-EXPER	$.43^{**}$					
MI-FACTOR1	$-.20^{**}$					
MI-FACTOR3	.15					
MI-FACTOR2	-.08	.05	7.91 (.00)	.19	.18	12.30 (.00)
ID	--	.19	3.89 (.00)	.38	.32	6.18 (.00)
NEW	$.18^{**}$					
INNOVATIVE	$.21^{**}$	.08	34.91 (.00)	.46	.40	8.17 (.00)
EXPOSURE	$-.14^{**}$	.01	10.76 (.00)	.47	.42	8.38 (.00)
NEW x EXPOSURE	-.10					
INNO x EXPOSURE	$.16^{*}$	.00	2.09 (.12)	.48	.42	8.18 (.00)

$^{**}p < .01$
$^{*}p < .05$

Table 13

Multiple Regressions For Entire Sample
With Subjective Novelty Interact
Dependent Variable=Pleasing-Displeasing

Predictor	Final Beta	R^2 Block Change	Block F (& p)	Total R^2	Adj. R^2	Total Equation F (& p)
ETHNIC	.16					
AGE	.29**					
GENDER	-.44**					
COLLEGE	.09	.03	3.99 (.00)	.03	.02	3.99 (.00)
ORDER	.05	.00	1.30 (.25)	.03	.02	3.46 (.00)
COMPLEX	.21**	.14	87.06 (.00)	.17	.16	17.86 (.00)
MI-EXPER	.43**					
MI-FACTOR1	-.11					
MI-FACTOR3	.05					
MI-FACTOR2	.04	.05	7.72 (.00)	.22	.20	14.35 (.00)
ID	--	.16	3.39 (.00)	.38	.32	6.19 (.00)
NEW	.09					
INNOVATIVE	.25**	.08	34.48 (.00)	.46	.40	8.15 (.00)
EXPOSURE	-.13**	.01	5.19 (.02)	.46	.41	8.16 (.00)
NEW x EXPOSURE	-.03					
INNO x EXPOSURE	.14	.01	2.52 (.08)	.47	.42	8.00 (.00)

**$p < .01$
*$p < .05$

Framing the News:
A methodological framework
for research designs

by

David R. Thompson
The University of Texas at Austin
March 1991

Paper presented to the Communication Theory and Methodology Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Annual Conference: August 7-10, 1991, Boston, Massachusetts.

David R. Thompson
Department of Journalism
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas 78712

(512) 471-7708, ext. 29

David R. Thompson is a PhD student at The University of Texas at Austin and President of SENSS Publications and Seminars, Inc.

Special thanks to Dr. James Tankard, Kris Bliss, Salma Ghanem, Laura Hendrickson and Jackie Silberman.

ABSTRACT

"Framing the news" is a specific application of the concept of framing.

This essay presents a 24-stage methodological "framework" for research designs. This multi-stage model combines six levels of the news process with four stages of information transformation.

This model is designed to accommodate both qualitative and quantitative studies. The model allows researchers to "zoom in" on the process of framing the news. Also, information may be "tracked" through each step of each level of the news process.

The model is untested. Researchers are encouraged to adapt and modify it.

"Framing the news" is a specific application of the concept of framing as defined by the fields of communications, psychology ("reframing," Robbins 1986), and philosophy (an extension of "myth," Barthes 1956).[1]

This essay presents a methodological "framework" for research designs. Studies of framing the news may employ the 24-stage model presented here. This multi-stage model combines six levels of the news process (an extension of Gans 1974) with the four stages of information transformation presented by Gamson (1984) and Gamson & Modigliani (1989).

This model allows researchers to "zoom in" on the process of framing the news. The model encourages researches to track information from level to level and stage to stage (within each level). Also, this framework is designed to accommodate both qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

These ideas are new. The model is untested. Researchers are encouraged to adapt and modify it.

---

[1] The term "framing" has been used to refer to (1) frame of reference (Graber, 1989; Hackett, 1984; Hallin, 1986; Lang & Lang, 1983; Payne, 1988; Schiller, 1981; Williams et al, 1983; Voll, 1990), and (2) a method for selection and organization of information (Gamson, 1984; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974, 1976; Rachlin, 1988; Swenson, 1990; Tuchman, 1978; White, 1950).

From this literature, framing the news (or "media framing") is defined as "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies interpretive background and suggests what the issue is through selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (class project: Tankard, Bliss, Ghanem, Hendrickson & Silberman, 1990).

Framing the news is, basically, a process of "information transformation." The term information transformation is used to mean the process of encoding and recoding information. It suggests that perceivable (encoded) information is somehow changed, or adapted (recoded) -- possibly simplified -- for eventual transmission and decoding.[2]

Information transformation may (and probably does) occur at each step of the 24-level model. It may occur more than once at various levels. Research which applies the 24-level model may find evidence for the extent of information transformation in framing the news.

Figure 1 about here

The news process (derived from Gans 1974) is divided into six levels: pre-source, source, reporter, news organization, medium and audience. The pre-source level represents "historical moments," the mere existence of [something]. The source level represents the people, places or things from which the reporter level (newsgatherers) obtains information. The news organization level accommodates "corporate" influences on information such as owners, publishers, attorneys, editors, the culture of the newsroom, etc. The medium level represents the technological opportunities or constraints for dissemination of information, including the presentation (appearance) of the news. Finally, the audience level is included since the process of framing the news does not end with mass media's dissemination of the news. Information transformation may occur at a level beyond the influence of the media.

---

[2] This conceptualization of information transformation is derived from Shannon & Weaver's (1949) models of information transmission and from Barthes' (1956) discussion of myth.

Gamson (1984) and Gamson & Modigliani (1989) provide the basis for conceptualizing the actual information transformation process. This is a four-stage process. The stages are called (1) raw information, (2) frame(s), (3) signature, and (4) package. (How many steps at each stage? Future research should find evidence for the answer.)

According to Gamson (1984), raw information is made up of "the world," "events," "issues," and "ideas."

Frame(s) is the stage at which framing devices -- metaphor, exemplar (a historical example from which a lesson is derived), catchphrase, depiction, and visual image (icon) -- are applied. Reasoning devices are also applied at the frame(s) stage -- roots (causal analysis), consequences, and appeals to principle (Gamson & Modigliani 1989).

Gamson & Modigliani (1989) state that the frame(s) stage accommodates "a range of positions." And, they warn that "dualism is not necessarily balance." Apparently, a form of negotiation occurs at the frame(s) stage. The (recoded) information which results from such negotiations goes to the signature stage.

The signature stage represents an information transformation in which symbols are formed. According to Gamson (1984), symbols are derived from "shorthand devices" which convey a "core idea or organizing frame and a characteristic set of symbols that suggest this frame in shorthand fashion."[3]

Finally, the package stage represents clusters of "accounts and commentary on public issues on a catalog of idea elements and symbols." Gamson (1984) states: "News presents a packaged world."[4]

In the 24-stage model presented in Figure 1, Gamson's 4-stage process of information transformation is functional at each level of the news process. But, because recoding occurs (by definition of information transformation), the nature of raw information, frame(s), signature and package may differ at each level. By analogy, instructions may say, "Mix well," but the act of mixing a cake batter "looks" different than the act of mixing cement.

The following are thoughts on this flexible concept of information transformation. Again, researchers are encouraged to adapt and modify this research framework.

Level 1: Pre-source. Raw information at this level is first generation information. (Assuming that information degrades as reproductions of an "original" degrade, this information should be significantly altered by the end of the news process.) This raw information is simply all the available information in the world.

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[3] "Story schema" seems very similar to this. According to Meadowcroft & Reeves (1989), "Story schema provides an interpretive framework for organizing information when reading stories, and they can affect encoding, storage and retrieval." Meadowcroft & Reeves extent this to a study of children and television. Story schema is defined as "memory about how stories are structured."

[4] The term "package" is used in Payne (1988) and Walsh & Borger (1990).

Frame(s) at the pre-source level are the "strip," or slice of reality defined by Goffman (1974) and Tuchman (1978). Information is now something that has been chosen, noticed, or somehow selected.

At the signature stage of the pre-source level, some values mechanism may make this moment of history distinct, or representative.

The package stage represents "recoded" information which is ready for transmission to the next level of the news process.

Level 2: Source. Raw information here is second-generation material. This is all the information available to the source.

At the frame(s) stage of the source level, the framing and reasoning devices (Gamson & Modigliani 1989) are applied by individuals or organizations. Assume that these news sources frame information which "fits" a specific, goal-directed agenda. This is not an "objective" process.

Unspecified "shorthand devices" (Gamson 1984) transform this framed information into symbols at the signature stage.

From this, a consensual perspective (based on the goal-directed agenda of the source) is packaged for presentation to newsgatherers.

Level 3: Reporter. Raw information at this level is the recoded version of the recoded information from the pre-source level. Already, it is becoming apparent that information transformation which occurs in the news process is a complex phenomenon. This is "only" third generation information. (This essay does not even consider transformations within each level.) This raw information represents all information available to the reporter. Remember, the source has already framed information, so some has already been excluded (by definition).

The reporter frame(s) this information. At this level, multiple perspectives (several sources) must be accommodated. Also, professional and personal experience are factors in how information is transformed.

Signatures formed by reporters reflect professionally-standardized recoding strategies. Professional standards and ethics (as well as editors' expectations) may affect the "core ideas" which signatures convey.[5]

The reporter's package is transmitted to the news organization. The reporter may not write for the audience. How does this affect information transformation at this level of the news process? At other levels?

Level 4: News Organization. Raw information represents the fourth generation of the original material.

Here, frame(s) represents corporate-based information transformation. Owners, the board of directors, management, etc. apply their version of framing and reasoning devices [Note: no specifics, yet] at this level. Organizational, corporate, economic and legal considerations should be considered at this point in the process.

The signature stage represents the symbols which are formed as a result of media professionals' decisions. How do these (simultaneously) reflect, or represent the media business, the watchdog function of the media, and the public's right to know.

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[5] How do the time constraints (deadlines) of the news process affect this model?

The package of recoded information compiled at the news organization level is intended for transmission to an audience. But first, technological considerations must be addressed.

Level 5: Medium. Fifth-generation raw material represents all available information submitted for transmission through a medium.

Frame(s) strategies at the medium level must accommodate economic and technological factors (e.g., Can we afford to send this message through that channel?). This may be the point where visual, aural and tactile factors may be defined for study.

The "fit" between technology and framed information is made at the signature stage. This is the point where an "efficient" format for transmission is constructed.

And again, the packaged information becomes the raw information for the next level of the news process.

Level 6: Audience. The raw information available to an audience is the result of six generations of information transformation.

At the audience level, the frame(s) stage represents how and what news to "consume." Audience frame(s) can be studied at a variety of levels of analysis (individual, cultural, national, global, etc.). Access to the medium, education, socio-economic status, and physiology (hearing and visual impairments) are all possible factors for analysis of the selection, exclusion and emphasis on consumption of the news.

And finally, how does the audience symbolize and package information? Where does this recoded information go from here?

The questions are endless. Perhaps this 24-stage methodological framework provides clues to finding the answers.

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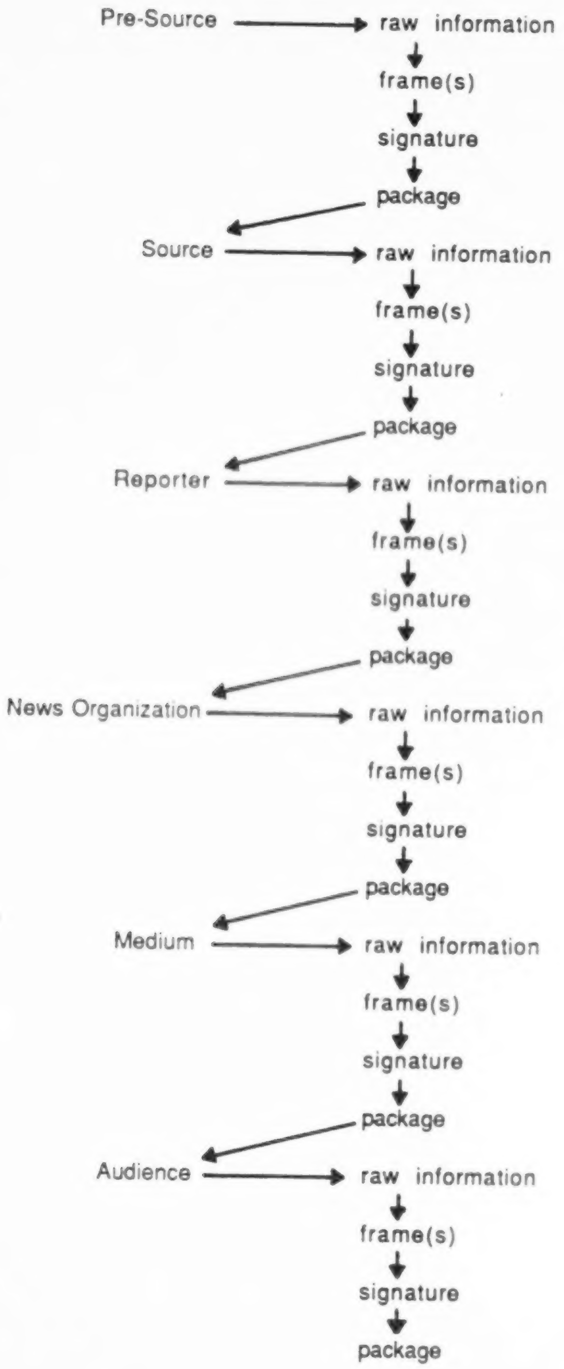
Figure 1. **24-stage model for Framing the News**


Pre-Source
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Reporter
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News Organization
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Audience
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